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**Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Daniel:
Literary Allusions in Daniel to Genesis and Ezekiel**

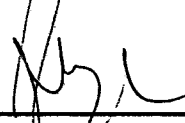
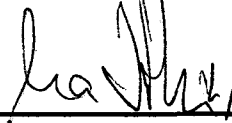
by

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ABSTRACT

Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Daniel: Literary Allusions in Daniel to Genesis and Ezekiel

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This dissertation investigates the use of biblical interpretation in the Book of Daniel. It demonstrates the spectrum in which Daniel uses older scriptural texts such as Genesis and Ezekiel in order to accomplish the theological concord with the earlier scriptural traditions of ancient Israel. Methodologically, the dissertation embraces the theory of literary allusion. The allusions in Daniel to Genesis 10-11 characterize Daniel as a literature of resistance to human imperialism. The motif of universal language, absolute dominion, symbolic construction for imperialism, collective power of human politics, and divine triumph over Babel, resurface to highlight the strong consonance between Genesis and Daniel. The allusions in Daniel to Ezekiel demonstrate that Ezekiel 1-3 is the greatest source of apocalyptic texts in Daniel 7 and 10-12. The anthropomorphic manifestation of God in Daniel's apocalyptic vision harks back to that in Ezekiel's prophetic vision. Both magnificent characters in Daniel 7 (the one like a son of man) and 10 (the heavenly revealer) are portrayed as liminal figures. The son of man figure alludes to the Glory of YHWH (Ezekiel 1), Israel (Daniel 7), the *maskilim* (Daniel 11-12), and Ezekiel (Ezekiel 1-3). The heavenly figure in Daniel 10 alludes to Ezekiel 1, evoking the Glory of YHWH (Ezekiel 1), the *maskilim* (Daniel 11-12), and the four cherubim (Ezekiel 1). The links between the *maskilim* and Prophet Ezekiel show how Daniel 10-12 reshapes Ezekiel 1-3 to portray the critical period under Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

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Daewoong Kim

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AATI</i>	<i>American Association of Teachers of Italian</i>
AB	The Anchor Bible
<i>ABR</i>	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
ACCSOT	Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture Old Testament
AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
<i>ANF</i>	<i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AS	Approaches to Semiotics
<i>ASTI</i>	<i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</i>
<i>AT</i>	<i>Art History</i>
<i>AUSS</i>	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford, 1907
BDAG	Bauer, W., F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3d ed. Chicago, 1999
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum Lovaniensium
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BIWL	Bibliographies and Indexes in World Literature
BMS	Biblical Monograph Series
<i>BSac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theological Bulletin</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>BQ</i>	<i>Baptist Quarterly</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
<i>CBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
<i>CI</i>	<i>Critical Inquiry</i>
<i>Conf.</i>	<i>De confusione linguarum</i>
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
<i>CS</i>	<i>Cahiers Sioniens</i>
<i>CTM</i>	<i>Currents in Theology and Mission</i>
DCLY	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook

DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DR	<i>Downside Review</i>
EdF	Erträge der Forschung
ET	The Expository Times
ETR	<i>Etudes théologiques et religieuses</i>
FZPT	<i>Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie</i>
GTJ	<i>Grace Theological Journal</i>
HALOT	Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden, 1994–1999
HAR	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i>
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	<i>Harvard Theological Studies</i>
HTS	<i>Hervormde Teologiese Studies</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IB	<i>Interpreter's Bible</i> . Edited by G. A. Buttrick et al. 12 vols. New York, 1951–1957
ICC	<i>The International Critical Commentary</i>
IDBSup	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: Supplementary Volume</i> . Edited by K. Crim. Nashville, 1976
JANESCU	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBQ	<i>Jewish Biblical Quarterly</i>
JECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JEGP	<i>The Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
JL	Janua Linguarum
JLSM	Janua Linguarum. Series Maior
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JP	<i>Journal for Preachers</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism, Supplement Series
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>

HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KHC	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies (Formerly JSOTSup)
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford, 1996
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
<i>MLN</i>	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
<i>MP</i>	<i>Modern Philology</i>
MT	Masoretic Text (of the OT)
<i>NIB</i>	<i>The New Interpreter's Bible</i>
<i>NLH</i>	<i>New Literary History</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OG	Old Greek (of the OT)
<i>OTP</i>	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . Edited by J. H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York, 1983
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
PLIAJSBUST	Philip W. Lown Institute of Advanced Judaic Studies, Brandeis University Studies and Texts
ProcGM	Proceedings, Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies
PPS	Papers on Poetics and Semiotics
<i>PT</i>	<i>Poetics Today</i>
PTMS	Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
<i>RRJ</i>	<i>Review of Rabbinic Judaism</i>
RTT	Research in Text Theory
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBSSS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SHBC	Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>

SNT	Studien zum Neuen Testamentum
SPHS	Scholars Press Homage Series
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia theologica</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TASPS	The Tel Aviv School of Poetics and Semiotics
TD	Témoins de Dieu
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Translated by J. T. Willis, G. W. Bromiley, and D. E. Green. 8 vols. Grand Rapids, 1974–
TEH	Theologische Existenz heute
Th.	Theodotion Greek (of the OT)
THL	Theory and History in Literature
<i>TL</i>	<i>Theological Librarianship</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
<i>TT</i>	<i>Theology Today</i>
TTS	Trierer theologische Studien
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
VWGT	Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Wesleyan Theological Journal</i>
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WUNT II	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. 2. Reihe
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

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Chapter One: Introduction

The book of Daniel is the only full-blown apocalypse in the Hebrew Bible. This dissertation investigates the use of biblical interpretation in Daniel. The major purpose is to demonstrate the spectrum in which Daniel uses older scriptural texts to make its own theological points. To make my case, I analyze the literary allusions in Daniel to Genesis and Ezekiel according to my method.

In recent decades scholars have devoted much attention to the biblical authors' use of earlier scriptural texts. It is widely agreed that they comment on, explain, revise, and argue with texts written by their predecessors. These ancient interpreters often seek out the fundamental harmony underlying the apparently incongruous texts, and, for them, as J. Kugel nicely remarks, Scripture is a cryptic document that is divinely authoritative and perfectly harmonious.¹ As such, they were not only scribes but also interpreters of the Bible. The interpretive tactics they developed are exquisite. Previous research of inner-biblical interpretation in Daniel concentrates on the use of prophetic books in Daniel. Almost each chapter of Daniel has received the attention of scholars. Daniel 7 has particularly attracted much attention from scholars. As G.B. Lester pointed out, however, their views are mixed in their biblical commentaries, where they explain a particular text of Daniel in light of "allusion."²

Within the vast territory of studies of inner-biblical interpretation in Daniel, there remains a large piece of uncharted terrain. Firstly, one needs to investigate how Daniel draws upon the

¹ James Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible As it Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1997), 1-41. For Kugel's early view, see James Kugel and Rowan A. Greer, *Early Biblical Interpretation* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1986), 13-102.

² G. Brooke Lester, "Inner Biblical Allusion," *TL* 2/2 (2009): 89.

Pentateuchal or wisdom tradition. Secondly, the proponents of the cognitive dissonance tend to underscore discontinuity between Daniel and the prophetic tradition. I seek to emphasize the other aspect, namely, continuity. Closer analysis of the literary allusion in Daniel may well prove the author's sense of "consonance" between the prophetic declarations and the author's own situation. Thirdly and finally, research on the method of describing an exegetical relationship of separate biblical texts is still in its early stage. In my dissertation I exhibit how effectively studies on inner-biblical interpretation can use fruits of the theory of literary allusion.

In scrutinizing how Daniel makes use of the earlier texts in the Hebrew Bible, I articulate the dynamic process in which Daniel evokes, absorbs, and transforms the scriptural texts written in the past. By doing so I argue that exegetical traditions in Daniel demonstrate the ways of life that depend on the enshrined collective memory embodied in Scripture. It is highlighted that Daniel preserves the activities of ancient biblical interpreters, either continuing the meaning of an older text or adapting the meaning to what they want. Daniel accomplishes the theological concord with the earlier scriptural traditions of ancient Israel.

To make my case, I refrain from embracing an approach that imposes on the biblical texts categories that rabbinic authors developed. Instead, after unveiling a range of interpretive glosses that are embedded in the fabric of Daniel, I seek to describe and evaluate them in light of the theory of literary allusion. As I decode meaningful intertextual links between Daniel and other books in the Hebrew Bible, I provide the rigorous analysis of allusions in Daniel in such a way as to show how Daniel shares in its *modus operandi* the enormous richness of the long-lasting Israelite scriptural legacy. Then, I undergird my argument by investigating the literary afterlife of Daniel. In doing so, I probe how a particular scriptural interpretation in Daniel recurs and is further developed in the Jewish literature written after Daniel.

My work has three main chapters. In Chapter Two I outline my method, which is literary theory of allusion. Methodologically, the primary focus of my dissertation on how one text uses another text is deeply involved with various forms of intertextuality. I draw heavily upon the theory of literary allusion that has been passionately advanced by some specialists from classical studies on the Greco-Roman literature and by a group of Israeli critics generally called the Tel-Aviv school of poetics and semiotics. I will emphasize the need to differentiate allusion from other alternately used terms and concepts, showing how allusion-model research is most appropriate for my dissertation. In my work I embrace Ziva Ben-Porat's theory of literary allusion as "a device for the simultaneous activation of two texts."³ I will not only introduce the basic frame of Ben-Porat's model of allusion; I will also expound important points of her theory in such a way as to prepare my reader for recurring terms in my work. In applying her theory to my analysis of allusion in Daniel, I take Ben-Porat's theory one step further by proposing my own analytical framework for a four-stage procedure of activation of allusion in Daniel.

In Chapter Three I deal with the use of literary allusion in Daniel to Genesis. I begin my study by portraying preliminary research of the relationship between Daniel and the Pentateuch. Particularly, previous scholarship on Genesis in Daniel is characteristic of two points: the role of creation in Daniel and the impact of the Joseph story on Daniel. After concluding that Daniel is a literature of resistance to human imperialism, I will proceed to analyze how allusions in the first half of Daniel contribute to its theme of divine sovereignty through an elegant interplay with the primeval story of imperialism in Babel (Genesis 10-11). I will show that the allusion to the Genesis chapters recurs according to the stream of the early narrative blocks in the first four chapters in Daniel. Some significant elements, such as the motif of universal language, absolute

³ Ziva Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," *PTL* 1 (1976): 107.

dominion, symbolic construction for imperialism, collective power of human politics, and divine triumph over Babel, resurface to highlight the strong consonance between Genesis and Daniel.

In Chapter Four I examine the use of literary allusion in Daniel to Ezekiel. In my survey of the preliminary research, I focus on the three major prophetic books such as Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel. Delving into intertextual connections between Ezekiel and Daniel, I demonstrate that Ezekiel 1-3 is the greatest source of apocalyptic texts in Daniel 7 and 10-12. The throne scene is shared in both books. The anthropomorphic manifestation of God in Daniel's apocalyptic vision harks back to that in Ezekiel's prophetic vision. Especially, I will argue that both magnificent characters in Daniel 7 (the one like a son of man) and 10 (the heavenly revealer) are portrayed as liminal figures. That is, the son of man figure alludes to the Glory of YHWH (Ezekiel 1), Israel (Daniel 7), the *maskilim* (Daniel 11-12), and Ezekiel (Ezekiel 1-3). Like the son of man figure in Daniel 7, the heavenly figure in Daniel 10 alludes to Ezekiel 1. The heavenly figure evokes the Glory of YHWH (Ezekiel 1), the *maskilim* (Daniel 11-12), and the four cherubim (Ezekiel 1). Paying special exegetical attention to all of these textual links between the *maskilim* and the prophet Ezekiel, I will argue how the author of Daniel 10-12 reshapes Ezekiel 1-3 to portray the critical period under Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

In my final chapter, Conclusion, I will recapitulate the main points that I made in my examination of allusions in Daniel to the Pentateuch and the Prophets. The conclusion will provide some principal facts concerning the poetics of allusion in Daniel.

Chapter Two: Method

My major purpose of this study is to explore the use of scriptural allusion in Daniel. In this chapter I will describe some important issues that are involved with allusion-studies. I begin by distinguishing the concept of literary allusion from other related terms. Then I will turn my attention to proposed definitions of allusion, with a special focus on Ziva Ben-Porat's model of allusion. Based largely on Ziva Ben-Porat's theory of allusion, I will outline the method for my study of allusion in Daniel, criteria for identifying allusion and analyzing procedure in my study.

I. Allusion and Similar Terms

Numerous scholars have long attempted to explain how separate texts are meaningfully associated and why they need to be read together.¹ A variety of terms have been in vogue such as "intertextuality," "influence," "echo," "quotation/citation," "mimesis/imitation," "plagiarism," "allusion," and so on. Besides these, biblical scholars use several particularized words such as "midrash" and "inner-biblical interpretation/exegesis/allusion." Writers tend to employ these words and terms synonymously and liberally, perhaps to avoid unnecessary repetition of the same term, while at times disregarding a palpable distinction of each term.² The promiscuous use

¹ E.g., for literature in general, see Jay Clayton and Eric Rothstein eds., *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991); and, Heinrich F. Plett, ed., *Intertextuality* (RTT 15; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991). Especially instructive are Heinrich F. Plett, "Intertextualities," Plett, *Intertextuality*, 3-29; Gary A. Phillips, "Sign/Text/Différance: The Contribution of Intertextual Theory to Biblical Criticism," in Plett, *Intertextuality*, 79-97; and, Hans-Peter Mai, "Intertextual Theory-A Bibliography," in Plett, *Intertextuality*, 237-250. For Jewish and ancient Near Eastern literature, see Martin Jan Mulder and Harry Sysling, eds., *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (CRINT 2:1; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988); Sipke Draisma, ed., *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honor of Bas van Iersel* (Kampen: Uitgeversmaatschappij J.H. Kok, 1989); and, G.K. Beal and D.A. Carson eds., *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007).

² Ziva Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Allusion" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkley, 1967), 78-128, devotes to this matter a whole section titled "III. Allusion and Conventionally Related Terms."

of these subtle terms entails “a similar multiplicity of terms and lack of uniformity in usage.”³ Before I describe my approach to the literary allusion in Daniel, I would like to establish some theoretical preliminaries by surveying other alternately used terms and concepts.

In 1966 the term “intertextuality” (*intertextualité*) was originally coined by Julia Kristeva to elucidate Mikhail M. Bakhtin’s dialogical concept of text.⁴ The concept was further sharpened by French (post-)structuralists (Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida) and American postmodernists (Stanley Fish and Harold Bloom). Unfortunately, the term is frequently used as “an umbrella for all the different ways in which texts interrelate with each other.”⁵ The most important factor for differentiating intertextuality from other related terms lies in the fact that intertextuality is normally unconcerned with the matter of direction of textual dependence. Intertextuality is not “a time-bound feature in literature,”⁶ and hence is appropriate in general for a “synchronic” reading that deals with “a wide range correspondences among texts.”⁷ More important, this nature of intertextuality denotes that the species of intertextuality “finesses the crucial question of authorial intention.”⁸ By contrast, studies wrought under the rubric of allusion

³ Richard L. Schultz, *The Search for Quotation: Verbal Parallels in the Prophets* (JSOTSup 180; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 216-221 (here, 216).

⁴ Julia Kristeva, “Word, Dialogue and Novel” in *The Kristeva Reader* (ed. Toril Moi; New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 37, writes that “any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another. The notion of *intertextuality* replaces that of intersubjectivity, and poetic language is read as at least *double*” (emphases original).

⁵ Tom Furniss and Michael Bath, *Reading Poetry: An Introduction* (London: Prentice Hall, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1996), 323-324. Similarly, Matthias Henze, “The Use of Scripture in the Book of Daniel,” in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism* (ed. idem; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Pub.; 2012), 280, nicely points out that “A blanket term such as ‘biblical interpretation’ is too vague—does ‘interpretation’ mean the deliberate effort of B to *explain* A, or does any *influence* of A on B, however defined, imply that B ‘interprets’ A?—and fails to capture the complex processes of adopting, reworking, and recontextualizing the earlier materials” (emphases original).

⁶ Plett, “Intertextualities,” 26.

⁷ Benjamin D. Sommer, “Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality in the Hebrew Bible: A Response to Lyle Eslinger,” *VT* 46/4 (1996): 486-487 (here, 487).

⁸ Robert Alter, *The Pleasures of Reading: In an Ideological Age* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989), 112.

(or influence) demand the critical question about whether a textual affinity results either from one text borrowing another text or from two texts appropriating a common literary pool. Allusion inevitably produces a diachronic study of textual borrowing, dealing with a relatively narrow range of resonances and particularized connections of “a limited number of texts.”⁹ In doing so, studies of allusion seek to explain “a writer’s active, purposeful use of antecedent texts.”¹⁰ The reader needs to know, in L. Eslinger’s words, “which way the vector of allusion points.”¹¹ Studies of intertextuality focus attention on the meaningful textual associations that readers make, whereas studies of allusion seek to unveil and interpret the author-intended connections that affect the reader’s process of understanding. For this reason, allusion study is often involved with “a methodology for laying bare authorial intent in textual interrelations.”¹² Most importantly, unlike intertextuality, allusion incorporates the context of the quoted text into a new composition—a crucial aspect that affects the reader’s understanding of text.¹³ These features of allusion I appropriate for my study of Daniel. In examining relationship between Daniel and other scriptural texts, I am concerned deeply with the context-transferring function of allusion and the concomitant authorial intention.

When compared to intertextuality, the distinction between “allusion” and “influence” is subtle. Much like allusion, studies of “influence” involve a diachronic aspect of literature. They

⁹ Sommer, “Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality,” 487.

¹⁰ Alter, *The Pleasure of Reading*, 112.

¹¹ Lyle Eslinger, “Inner-Biblical Exegesis and Inner-Biblical Allusion: The Question of Category,” *VT* 42/1 (1992): 53. Cf. “vector of dependence” (p. 56).

¹² Cynthia Edenburg, “How (Not) to Murder a King: Variations on a Theme in 1 Sam 24;26,” *SJOT* 12/1 (1998):66.

¹³ In this regard, Russian-Soviet scholars’ “subtext” stands in stark contrast with French scholars’ “intertextuality.” The “context-induced meaning” was characteristic of modern Russian poetry and poetics that have been a subject of study of Prague Structuralism, which provides in turn foundation for the modern Israeli study of literary allusion. On the “subtext theory,” see Kiril Taranovsky, *Essays on Mandel’shtam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 1-20; and, Elaine Rusinko, “Intertextuality: The Soviet Approach to Subtext,” *Dispositio* 4/11-12 (1979):213-235.

“should refer to relations built on dyads of transmission from one unity (author, work, tradition) to another,” while simultaneously providing “portraits of intellectual background, context, and the other partners of influence.”¹⁴ Thus students of influence have concerned themselves with method in which they attempt to “discriminate genuine influence from commonplace images, techniques, or ideas that could be found in almost any writer of a given period.”¹⁵ For any “zealous source-hunters” of influence studies, it has been turned out to be “not always easy to distinguish between resemblances that inhere in the common subject-matter of two poems and resemblances that may really be due to direct imitation.”¹⁶ Despite these strong affinities between “influence” and “allusion,” there exist some significant differences as well. Studies of literary influence have demonstrated that authors often deliberately imitate their predecessors whom they *admire* and wish to *imitate*.¹⁷ However, as H. Bloom asserts, authors not only revere and emulate them, but also struggle with and prevail over the burden of their precursors’ influence.¹⁸ This psychological dimension of the authors does not play an important role in allusion in biblical literature.¹⁹ In alluding to early texts, biblical authors venerate and mimic their predecessors. But they do not compete with the former writers but seek primarily to

¹⁴ Jay Clayton and Eric Rothstein, “Figures in Corpus: Theories of Influence and Intertextuality,” in *Influence and Intertextuality* (1991), 3. Similarly, Louis A. Renza, “Influence,” in *Critical Terms for Literary Study* (ed. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 186, states: “[I]nfluence-study generally entailed the practice of tracing a text’s generic and thematic lineage.” For a fine comparison of influence and allusion, see Benjamin Sommer, *A Prophet reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 14-15.

¹⁵ Clayton and Rothstein, “Figures in Corpus,” 5.

¹⁶ Robert E. N. Dodge, “A Sermon on Source-Hunting,” *MP* 9/2 (1911): 211, 215-216.

¹⁷ Furniss and Bath, *Reading Poetry*, 308 (emphases mine).

¹⁸ Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); and, idem, *A Map of Misreading* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

¹⁹ Thus Gian Biagio Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets* (trans. Charles Segal; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 26, characterizes “Harold Bloom’s psychological criticism” as stressing “the intention of the author rather than the rhetorical and linguistic functioning of allusion in the text.”

understand and expound their legacies. More important, “influence” tends to signify more *general* features than “allusion.” The same holds true for method. Like influence studies, allusion studies ask whether or not any similarities between two texts are significant. But allusion studies tend to pursue more rigorous preciseness of method. Students of allusion delve into the matter of identifying formal elements of signs that correlate two independent texts, while at the same time describing the manners in which textual interplay between the texts impacts the reader’s understanding. Thus J.K. Chandler rightly points out that even some major practitioners of influence studies such as J.L. Lowes and H. Bloom do not touch on the *manners* in which the author invites readers to respond to reminiscences of some earlier text in the author’s text.²⁰

The last point of difference between “allusion” and “influence” brings me to a similar difference between “allusion” and “echo.” Unlike allusion, echo does not trigger complicate interaction between the originary text and the target text.²¹ Namely, components of echo are so tightly subsumed into the fabric of text, they only enhance allusive “mood of atmosphere,” rather than constituting a specific component of allusion.²² J. Hollander draws a similar distinction between echo and allusion. For readers, allusion is more intentional and explicit than echo. Appealing to the fact that, by early 16th century, authors’ uses of the term *alluding* were based on its Latin etymon *ludus* (“punning” and “troping”), Hollander avers that “one cannot in this sense allude unintentionally—an inadvertent allusion is a kind of solecism.”²³ When compared to

²⁰ James K. Chandler, “Romantic Allusiveness,” *CI* 8/3 (1982): 462, mentions James K. Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu: A Study in the Ways of the Imagination* (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927); Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence* (1973); and, idem, *A Map of Misreading* (1975).

²¹ Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 15-16. Sommer relies largely on several Israeli critics such as Ben-Porat, “The Poetics of Literary Allusion,” 106, 115.

²² Ben-Porat, “The Poetics of Allusion,” 83. In this regard, “borrowing” that includes “direct quotation” is similar to echo (idem, 86-93).

²³ John Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 64. Here Hollander introduces the view of the ancient Roman rhetorician Quintilian: “an unintentional metaphor is blunder” (Quintilian, *Institutes*, V:53).

“allusion,” “echo” is more elusive, showing often a more faint resemblance to its source text. In other words, allusion is an “intentional echo,”²⁴ which is “sufficiently overt to be understood.”²⁵ However, Hollander’s conceptualization is so comprehensive that his idea of echo practically covers many essential aspects of allusion.²⁶ Thus R. Hays, whose work draws heavily upon Hollander’s concept of “echo metaleptic,” opines that echo almost synonymous with allusion is “subtler” than allusion.²⁷

Presumably it is subtlest to distinguish “quotation/citation” from “allusion.”²⁸ Quotation may well be lucidly defined as “the literal reproduction of a verbal text of a certain length or of a set of images, notes, sounds, movements, or a combination of all or some of these elements.”²⁹ But this does not necessarily mean that only quotation with no departure from the originary text can be qualified as quotation. Rather, quotation is readily confirmed with certainty, as P.R. Ackroyd posits, when “re-interpretation is evident,” since “[s]uch re-interpretation indicates dependence upon an earlier form of the same material, and its re-handling with a distinctively

²⁴ Chandler, “Romantic Allusiveness,” 463.

²⁵ Carmela Perri, “On Alluding,” *Poetics* 7/3 (1978):290. Perri states that “this echo is sufficient to be recognized” (p. 300).

²⁶ Particularly, what Hollander categorizes as “echo metaleptic” (*Figure of Echo*, 113-132) is close to what Ziva Ben-Porat explains as the third and the fourth stages of activation of allusion (“The Poetics of Literary Allusion,” 110-111).

²⁷ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letter of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 29. Hays’ concept of echo is almost identical with allusion. See his seven rules for identifying echo (pp. 29-32). Likewise, his approach to intertextuality practically encompasses influence or allusion.

²⁸ On quotation in (extra)biblical studies, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament,” *NTS* 7/4 (1961): 297-333; Meir Sternberg, “Proteus in Quotation-Land: Mimesis and the Forms of Reported Discourse,” *PT* 3/2 (1982):107-156; and, Schultz, *The Search for Quotation* (1999).

²⁹ Stefan Morawski, “The Basic Functions of Quotation,” in *Sign, Language, Culture: Signe, Langage, Culture. Znak, Jezyk, Kultura. Znak, Iazyk, Kul’tura* (JLSM 1; ed. Algirdas J. Greimas and Roman Jakobson; Hague: Mouton, 1970), 691.

new point in mind.”³⁰ This line of thought suggests the close similarity between “quotation” and “allusion.” Indeed, as U.J. Hebel nicely puts, “quotations open up a deeper dimension” that they “not only refer to their original contexts, but also represent them in the quoting text.”³¹ It hardly comes as a surprise that just as J. Hollander and R. Hays define and use “echo” almost synonymously with “allusion,” so R.L. Schultz does not clearly discern “quotation” from “allusion.”³² I suggest, together with Hebel, that allusion is the more comprehensive literary domain that subsumes quotation. Quotation may well be best understood either as “one particular form of allusion” or, more narrowly defined, as “another form of the allusional marker.”³³ In terms of function particularly, allusion goes far beyond quotation in yielding its “effect to denote a specific relation between a text and an identifiable point of reference and its potential to connote additional associations.”³⁴

The “allusion” I deal with in Daniel also differs from ancient Greco-Roman authors’ plagiarism in which an author illegitimately reuses “a predecessor’s particular expression of idea and content.”³⁵ As part of Greco-Roman social community characteristic of “a culture of high

³⁰ Peter R. Ackroyd, “The Vitality of the Word of God in the Old Testament: A Contribution to the Study of the Transmission and Exposition of Old Testament material,” in *ASTI* 1 (1962): 9. Ackroyd finds an example of this case in Job 7:17-18, where Job “uses similar words to those of Psalms 8:5-6, but gives a sinister twist to their meaning” (p. 9). This particular point holds true for allusion, too.

³¹ Udo J. Hebel, *Intertextuality, Allusion, and Quotation: An International Bibliography of Critical Studies* (BIWL 18; New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 4. “This quasi-metonymical presence of the quoted text in the quoting text is, however, not restricted to the words of the quotation, but goes beyond the limits of the quotation and attains suggestive power” (p. 4).

³² Schultz, *Search for Quotation*, 216-239, surveys varying theoretical treatments of quotation and finally approves Ackroyd’s definition of quotation as his method in order to “eliminate the prevailing terminological confusion” from other views of quotation (p. 221). It still remains questionable, however, if Schultz’s choice of the Ackroyd view of quotation and his literary parameters for identifying quotation (pp. 222-227) would clearly distinguish quotation from other relational devices such as allusion.

³³ Hebel, *Intertextuality, Allusion, and Quotation*, 5, 7.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

³⁵ Scott McGill, *Plagiarism in Latin Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 6-9, discusses the phenomenon of plagiarism prevalent both in Greece and Rome from the second century B.C.E. through late antiquity (here, p. 3).

residual orality which nevertheless communicated significantly by means of literary creations,”³⁶ Jewish authors quite freely quoted and reused early works from their memory.³⁷ In doing so, they did not mark the source text in their composition. Instead, using prophetic and patriarchal authorities such as Enoch, Abraham, Moses, Jeremiah, and Baruch, Hellenistic Jews customarily produced texts and writings under pseudonyms that are now widely attested in the extra-canonical literature of Second Temple period. Their use of pseudonyms derived from the ancient Jewish scriptural interpretation, which was unrelated to Greco-Roman plagiarism.³⁸ Among others, plagiarism does not intend to activate the source text, since a competent yet dishonest writer will veil markers.³⁹ In shaping allusions, however, the book of Daniel aims clearly to activate a variety of source texts, while harmonizing in many ways its compositions with early scriptural texts.⁴⁰

The point of inner-biblical exegesis lies in the concept of exegesis.⁴¹ The exegesis presupposes, according to Sommer, that a later text tends to “analyze, explain, or give meaning to (or uncover meaning in)” an early text.⁴² In terms of textual relationship, this tendency finds

³⁶ Paul J. Achtemeier, “Omne Verbum Sonat: The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity,” *JBL* 109/1 (1990):3.

³⁷ See Christopher D. Stanley, “The Social Environment of ‘Free’ Biblical Quotations in the New Testament,” in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals* (JSNTSup 148; ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 18-27.

³⁸ See Michael Stone, “Pseudepigraphy Reconsidered,” *RRJ* 9 (2006): 1–15.

³⁹ Ben-Porat, “The Poetics of Allusion,” 93-94; Similarly, Christopher Ricks, *Allusion to the Poets* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 231-233.

⁴⁰ Paschal C. Viglione, “Internal Allusion and Symmetry at the Mid-Point of Dante’s *Commedia*,” *AATI* 63/3 (1986): 238, states: “[T]he process of allusion, or ‘reinscription,’ always adds something, is always more than mere plagiarism.”

⁴¹ The expression “inner-biblical exegesis” is first used by Nahum Sarna, “Psalm 89: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis,” in *Biblical and Other Studies* (ST 1; ed. A. Altmann; Cambridge: Harvard University, 1963), 29-46.

⁴² Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 17.

its origin in source-criticism of 19th century European scholarship.⁴³ As the term “exegesis” clearly suggests, proponents of inner-biblical exegesis are inspired in many ways by the ancient Jewish hermeneutic tradition of midrash. Schultz categorizes them as three different groups, each of which highlights anthological style, proto-midrash, and reinterpretation, respectively.⁴⁴ A. Robert and some French scholars underscored the “procédé anthologique” (anthological procedure). Isaac Leo Seeligmann wrote a seminal work,⁴⁵ claiming that hermeneutical principles of midrash operate in the Old Testament. R. Bloch, appealing to works of Seeligmann and Robert, regards midrash as stemming from the interpretive tendency of the biblical authors.⁴⁶ Although inspired by this approach, numerous scholars struggled with properly defining midrash.⁴⁷ A most influential advocator of inner-biblical exegesis, M. Fishbane, categorized diverse exegetical activities in the Hebrew Bible based much on earlier scholarship.⁴⁸ Like allusion, inner biblical exegesis deals with the relation between biblical texts. However, it differs from studies of (inner-biblical) allusion.⁴⁹ Unlike allusion, inner-biblical exegesis assumes that

⁴³ Bernard M. Levinson, *Legal Revision and Religious Renewal in Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 95.

⁴⁴ Schultz, *The Search for Quotation*, 82-99. On bibliography and historical development of midrash study, I am heavily indebted to Schultz’s excellent summary.

⁴⁵ Isaac Leo Seeligmann, “Voraussetzungen der Midraschexegese,” in *Congress Volume: Copenhagen, 1953* (ed. G. W. Anderson; VTSup 1; Leiden: Brill, 1953), 150-181.

⁴⁶ Renée Bloch, “Ecriture et tradition dans l’e judaïsme: Aperçus sur l’origine du Midrash,” *CS* 8 (1954): 9-34.

⁴⁷ Daniel Boyarin, “Old Wine in New Bottles: Intertextuality and Midrash,” *PT* 8/3-4 (1987): 539, defines midrash as “the way the Sages of the Talmudic Period (the first five centuries of the Christian Era) read the Bible, as well as the written evidence for that way of reading.” Boyarin skillfully conceptualizes midrash in terms of intertextuality in contrast with allusion.

⁴⁸ Michael Fishbane, “Torah and Tradition,” in *Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament* (ed. Douglas A. Knight; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 275-300; idem, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); and, idem, “The Hebrew Bible and Exegetical Tradition,” in *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel: papers read at the tenth Joint Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study and Het Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland en België, held at Oxford* (OTS 40; ed. Johannes C. de Moor; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 15-30. For Fishbane’s method, I will deal in detail with Chapter Three and Chapter Four.

⁴⁹ Sommer, “Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality in the Hebrew Bible,” 485, 487-488.

authors of biblical texts were faced with obscurities, insufficient details, apparent contradiction, and obsolescence of an earlier custom/statement.⁵⁰ Inner-biblical allusion, by contrast, may well “attempt to bolster the authority” of the texts of predecessors.⁵¹

II. The Literary Allusion

The term “allusion” has gained its popularity mainly among Anglo-American scholars. In his 1965 article on allusion, for example, E. Miner writes: The allusion is a “[t]acit reference to another literary work, to another art, to history, to contemporary figures, or the like. Allusion may be used merely to display knowledge, as in some Alexandrian and medieval poems; to appeal to a reader or audience sharing some experience or knowledge with the writer; or to enrich a literary work by merging the echoed material with the new poetic context.”⁵² Miner highlights the *covert* nature of allusion. In others’ models of allusion such as Ziva Ben-Porat’s, however, a sign of allusion is not entirely of a covert nature. The sign should be detected and utilized by the reader to activate allusion. Almost 30 years after his first definition of allusion, Miner provides a slightly modified version: “A poet’s deliberate incorporation of identifiable elements from other sources, preceding or contemporaneous, textual or extratextual.”⁵³ In his second definition Miner regards allusion as an author’s “deliberate” treatment of other sources. Miner rightly points out that allusion demands the reader’s “knowledge of the original borrowed form,” while establishing “a conceptual rather than a verbal connection with the passage or work

⁵⁰ Geza Vermes, “Bible and Midrash: Early Old Testament Exegesis,” in *The Cambridge History of the Bible Volume I: From the Beginnings to Jerome* (ed. P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans; Cambridge: University Press, 1970), 29-46.

⁵¹ Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 18.

⁵² Earl Miner, “Allusion,” in *Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (ed. Alex Preminger; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 18.

⁵³ Earl Miner, “Allusion,” in *The New Princeton Handbook of Poetic Terms* (ed. T.V.F. Brogan; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 13.

alluded to.”⁵⁴ He includes many important works in his bibliography that redefine the nature and function of the literary allusion such as Ziva Ben-Porat, Carmela Perri, John Hollander, Gian Biagio Conte, and Udo J. Hebel. Compared to his early view, Miner confines his new definition of allusion to “poet’s” literary technique.

Bloom too considers allusion in terms of “reference.” In providing the historical development of the concept of allusion, Bloom comments on the diverse senses that the Oxford English Dictionary provides for the term: “The history of ‘allusion’ as an English word goes from an initial meaning of ‘illusion’ on to an early Renaissance use as meaning a pun, or word-play in general. But by the time of Bacon it meant any symbolic likening, whether in allegory, parable or metaphor, as when in *The Advancement of Learning* poetry is divided into ‘narrative, representative, and allusive.’ A fourth meaning, which is still the correct modern one, follows rapidly by the very early seventeenth century, and involves any implicit, indirect or hidden reference. The fifth meaning, still incorrect but bound to establish itself, now equates allusion with direct, overt reference.”⁵⁵

III. Ziva Ben-Porat’s Model of Literary Allusion

Ben-Porat defines literary allusion, in C. Perri’s view, “discarding criterion of covertness.”⁵⁶ For Ben-Porat, literary allusion is in its primary sense “a device for linking texts.”⁵⁷ Laying emphasis

⁵⁴ Ibid., 14.

⁵⁵ Bloom, *A Map of Misreading*, 126.

⁵⁶ Carmela Perri et al., “Allusion Studies: An International Annotated Bibliography, 1921-1977,” *Style* 13/2 (1979), 180.

⁵⁷ Ziva Ben-Porat, “The Poetics of Allusion—A Text Linking Device—In Different Media of Communication (Literature versus Advertising and Journalism),” in *A Semiotic Landscape: Proceedings of the First Congress of the International Association for Semiotic Studies, Milan, June 1974* (AS 29; ed. Seymour Chatman et al.; Hague: Mouton, 1979), 588.

rather on its function and structure than on its nature of indirectness, Ben-Porat provides a new, groundbreaking definition of literary allusion that distinguishes itself from allusion in general:

“The literary allusion is a device for the simultaneous activation of two texts. The activation is achieved through the manipulation of a special signal: a sign (simple or complex) in a given text characterized by an additional larger ‘referent.’ This referent is always an independent text. The simultaneous activation of the two texts thus connected results in the formation of intertextual patterns whose nature cannot be predetermined.”⁵⁸

In the dense statement above Ben-Porat seeks to describe a linear process of reading two independent texts simultaneously. This reading is characteristic of three principal aspects: “activation of the literary allusion,” “manipulation of a special sign,” and “formation of intertextual patterns.” The most important contribution of Ben-Porat’s theory of literary allusion may well reside in her “differentiation between allusion as a textual element within the linear sequence of the alluding text (“signal”/“marker”) and allusion as a process of activating at least one other text (“device”).”⁵⁹ In her brief definition of literary allusion Ben-Porat does not mention the reader’s role. It may well be instructive to notice that these three aspects of the reading-process presuppose in fact the reader’s finding a “reservoir of potentialities” in an allusive text and using his “intelligence and judgment” to fully understand the text.⁶⁰ It is this

⁵⁸ Ben-Porat, “The Poetics of Literary Allusion,” 107-108.

⁵⁹ Hebel, *Intertextuality, Allusion, and Quotation*, 6.

⁶⁰ Ben-Porat, “The Poetics of Allusion,” 265. This particular reader is “A good reader ... who knows not only what to activate and link, but also want to reject ... a good reader must be aware and knowledgeable as well as intuitive and sympathetic” (p. 265). One of her dissertation committee, Stanley Fish, one of major theorists of reader-response criticism, Stanley Fish, *Is there a Text in This Class?: The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 48-49, defines the informed reader: “Who is *the* reader? Obviously, my reader is a construct, an ideal or idealized reader, somewhat like Wardhaugh’s ‘mature reader’ or Milton’s ‘fit’ reader, or to use a term of my own, *the* reader is the *informed* reader. The informed reader is someone who (1) is a competent speaker of the language out of which the text is built up; (2) is in full possession of ‘the semantic knowledge that a mature ... listener brings to his task of comprehension’ ... (3) has literary competence. That is, he is sufficiently experienced as a reader to have internalized the properties of literary discourse ... The reader of whose response I speak, then, is this informed reader, neither an abstraction nor an actual living reader,

kind of constructed reader that activates simultaneously two texts both by manipulating signs of literary allusion and by forming intertextual patterns. Thus Ben-Porat depicts:

“The reader has to perceive the existence of a marker before any further activity can take place. This perception entails a recollection of the original form of the marker, and in most cases leads to the identification of the text in which it has originally appeared. The recollection of the marker’s original form may suffice for a modified and fuller interpretation of the sign as it appears in the alluding text. Identification of the marker’s larger ‘referent,’ the evoked text, is mandatory for intertextual patterning beyond the modified interpretation of the marker itself.”⁶¹

Then Ben-Porat provides a four-staged process of activation of literary allusion:

1. Recognition of a Marker in a Given Sign: Recognition of a marker entails identification of the marking element(s) as belonging or closely related to an independent referent text.
2. Identification of the Evoked Text: This stage is an obvious result of the first stage.
3. Modification of the Initial Local Interpretation of the Signal: This modification results from the interaction between the two texts and results in the formation of at least one intertextual pattern. Intertextual patterning can change local interpretations.
4. Activation of the Evoked Text as a Whole, in an Attempt to Form Maximum Intertextual Patterns: The intertextual pattern no longer needs the marker or the marked as their components.⁶²

In her 1973 doctoral thesis on the literary allusion Ben-Porat states that her concepts and terminology are indebted to Benjamin Hrushovski’s theory of the literary text.⁶³ Hrushovski, founder of the Tel Aviv School of poetics and semiotics (hereafter TASPS), advances his theory of “integrational semantics” (“a unified theory of the literary text”) that are explained in his

but a hybrid—a real reader (me) who does everything within his power to make himself informed” (emphases original).

⁶¹ Ben-Porat, “The Poetics of Literary Allusion,” 109-110.

⁶² Ibid., 110-111.

⁶³ Ben-Porat, “The Poetics of Allusion,” xxvi-xxvii.

sophisticated articles and, more briefly, in the works of A. Mintz and C. Kronfeld.⁶⁴ Indeed, Ben-Porat's theory of literary allusion stems in large part from the modern Israeli theorists of the text developed by TASPS. The focus on the *process* of actualization in Ben-Porat's theory of allusion is, among others, anchored in the conceptual framework of Hrushovski's integrational semantics. Before I move to my own framework for describing the literary allusion in Daniel, I would like to clarify some essential concepts of Ben-Porat's theory of allusion. These concepts will recur in my discussion of Daniel.

As I point out above, the reader's "manipulation of a special sign" plays an important role in literary allusion. What is a sign of literary allusion and how does the reader manipulate it? According to Ben-Porat, the "special sign" subsumes two basic components: a "marker" in a given "alluding" text and the "marked" in an "evoked" independent text.⁶⁵ When identifying the marker in the alluding text, the reader inextricably finds that the marker belongs simultaneously to two separate texts, namely, the alluding text in which the marker is built and the evoked text from which the marker derives. What does matter for the reader is to perceive the *metonymical* relationship between the marker and the evoked text.⁶⁶ Once embedded in the alluding text, the

⁶⁴ On integrational semantics, see Benjamin Hrushovski (or, Harshav), "An Outline of Integrational Semantics: An Understander's Theory of Meaning in Context," *PT* 3/4 (1982): 59-88; and, idem, "Segmentation and Motivation in the Text Continuum of Literary Prose: The First Episode of *War and Peace*," in *Russian Poetics: Proceedings of the International Colloquium at UCLA, September 22-26, 1975* (ed. Thomas Eekman and Dean S. Worth; Columbus: Slavica Publishers Inc., 1983), 117-146; and, idem, *Exploration in Poetics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007). On TASPS, see Alan Mintz, "On the Tel Aviv School of Poetics," *Prooftexts* 4/3 (1984): 215-235; Chana Kronfeld, "Allusion: An Israeli Perspective," *Prooftexts* 5/2 (1985): 129-140 (esp. 140-146); and, idem, *On the Margins of Modernism: Decentering Literary Dynamics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 114-188 (esp. 118-125).

⁶⁵ Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," 110.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 108, 117; Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Allusion," 97, 176-246. Here Ben-Porat discusses in great detail types of the literary allusion, metonymical and metaphorical, classifying and analyzing each relationship between the alluding text and the evoked text. In doing so, she appropriates Jakobson's terms such as "similarity," "contiguity," "metaphoric," and "metonymic." See Roman Jakobson, "Two Aspects of Language and Two Types of Aphasic Disturbances," in *Fundamentals of Language* (JL 1; ed. Roman Jakobson and Morris Halle; The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1956), 55-82.

marker begins to *represent* the entire elements of the evoked text. As the reader fully perceives this metonymical relationship between the marker and the evoked text, the reader, in Ben-Porat's term, "identifies" the evoked text as the source text.⁶⁷ After manipulating the sign of allusion ("most transparent marker" and its larger referent text) to identify the source text, the reader further manipulates what Ben-Porat calls "secondary (weak)" elements.⁶⁸ Namely, the reader continuously identifies secondary markers in the alluding text and associates them with the correspondent, secondary markeds in the evoked text. Apparently, the reader's manipulation of signs of literary allusion refers to his act of *linking* between the markers and the markeds. In manipulating the group of signs of literary allusion, therefore, the reader comes to recognize with certainty the presence of a system of linkings between the alluding text and the evoked text.

The reader's act of linking of the signs of allusion in Ben-Porat's theory of allusion can be more lucidly explained in terms of the concept of text that TASPS proposes. A member of TASPS herself, Ben-Porat defines a text as "a whole network of linkings between elements, to be done by a reader."⁶⁹ The reader comes to understand the text by linking the elements of the textual network. Not until the reader finds or links the elements of text do they remain "implicit or *dormant* elements" in their network of textual linkings.⁷⁰ Ben-Porat's concept of text illuminates why she defines allusion as simultaneous "activation" of two texts. For Ben-Porat, the literary allusion resides in a network of linkings between the elements of two texts. Like text, the literary allusion is left dormant insofar as the reader is unaware of the linked elements between two texts. To understand the literary allusion, the reader needs to set the complex web

⁶⁷ Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," 109.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁶⁹ Ziva Ben-Porat and Benjamin Hrushovski, *Structuralist Poetics in Israel* (PPS 1; Tel Aviv: The Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics, 1974), 13.

⁷⁰ Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Allusion," 36 (emphasis mine).

of two texts active in the reader's perception. By "simultaneous activation of two texts," therefore, Ben-Porat means that the reader *realizes* two texts as a whole network of linkings. It is "simultaneous" since the reader realizes *two* texts as one system. It is "activation" since the reader enters into the state in which s/he is *ready* to manipulate the linkings of two texts. More intriguingly, the reader's realization of the integrated system of two texts triggers the reader's subsequent realization of the linkings between their two *contexts*. In the cognitive process of actualizing the literary allusion, for example, the reader's "realization of the marked component" develops into his "activation of its relevant contextual elements" in the evoked text.⁷¹ All in all, the reader's simultaneous activation of two texts may well best mean his full realization of two texts and their contexts as an inextricably interconnected "signifying system."⁷²

Finally, as the reader comes to full realization/activation of two con/texts, the reader proceeds to the next stage of his understanding literary allusion: producing intertextual patterns by linking the elements between the two con/texts. The whole process of understanding of the allusion ends with the reader's "intertextual patterning."⁷³ What is pattern(ing) and why is it intertextual? To answer these questions we need to observe that Ben-Porat's idea of "activation" recasts the idea of "realization" in Hrushovski's integrational semantics.⁷⁴ Hrushovski's concept of the reader's realization is embedded in the fabric of his theory of literary text:

"Everything we experience in literature or say about it is based on texts. A work of literature is however, is not to be identified with a text as a fixed object ... [T]here are

⁷¹ Ibid., 10. The reading process that Ben-Porat describes in terms of the literary allusion can be said to be all about "what may take place within the mind" of the reader "during the actual experience of reading" (p. 265).

⁷² Ziva Ben-Porat, "Forms of Intertextuality and the Reading of Poetry: Uri Zvi Greenberg's Basch'ar," *Prooftexts* 10/1 (1990): 259.

⁷³ Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," 109.

⁷⁴ Kronfeld, "Allusion: An Israeli Perspective," 145.

many things readers have to add to the actual language presented on the pages of a book. A work of literature is a text to be read by a reader. The reader ‘realizes’ the text, links up things which are not explicitly connected, makes guesses, fills in gaps, constructs points of view, creates tensions, etc ... In the ‘realization’ of a text by a reader there are two major aspects: **understanding** of the **meanings** presented in the text and **experience** of the non-semantic, rhetorical, or poetic effects of the text. In both respects *a realization of the text as an aesthetic object involves linking up of numerous elements within the text*: sounds which are repeated and make alliterations or rhyme patterns, word or scene repetitions, events in a chain of plot, behavior, incidents of characters, comic or tragic qualities, etc.”⁷⁵

According to Hrushovski, the reader comes to realize the text by the reader’s active linking of textual units that are “presented in the text.” The reader’s realization of the given text includes 1) the reader’s linking any portions available for the reader from the text, and 2) its result, that is, the reader’s understanding the text as a whole system. We find here that Ben-Porat’s idea of “activation” is synonymous with Hrushovski’s idea of “realization.” She adapts Hrushovski’s idea to her theory of allusion. To realize the text, according to Hrushovski, the reader links any meaningful textual elements *within* the text. Ben-Porat widens the extent to which the reader’s linking occurs. It is not only “within the text” but also “between two texts” that the reader links textual elements to understand the literary allusion. According to Ben-Porat, the literary allusion prompts the reader to link elements of texts on two different levels. On one level, the reader links elements within the local text in which a sign is embedded. The reader links, for example, between a marker and its referent in the alluding text, thereby producing what Ben-Porat designates as a “local interpretation (LI₁).”⁷⁶ Similarly, the reader links between a marked and its referent in the evoked text, thereby producing another “local interpretation (LI).” Then the reader yields the reader’s first intertextual pattern by linking these “two independent interpretations,”

⁷⁵ Hrushovski, “Segmentation and Motivation,” 117-118 (bolds prints original, italics mine); and, Benjamin Harshav (Hrushovski), “Theory of the Literary Text and the Structure of Non-Narrative Fiction: In the First Episode of War and Peace,” *PT* 9/3 (1988): 636.

⁷⁶ Ben-Porat, “The Poetics of Literary Allusion,” 110.

that is, one local interpretation he makes in the alluding text (LI₁) and the other local interpretation he makes in the evoked text (LI).⁷⁷

Again, Ben-Porat's concept of "intertextual pattern" in her theory of literary allusion is based on Hrushovski's concept of pattern in his theory of literary text. Hrushovski posits that the "units of meanings are not words and sentences but *patterns*," and that the reader makes a pattern by "combining semantic elements" that reside in and are constructed from the words and sentences in text.⁷⁸ A text conveys "a multitude of 'themes,' meanings, and meaning-patterns," and hence "it cannot be exhausted in one summary or even in one interpretation." In the course of understanding an allusive text, the reader is anticipated to decompose any of the themes or the ideas and represent it as a form of meaningful sentence. Hrushovski states that any "linking made by a reader in the process of realization" is in principle equivalent with "a pattern" in the text.⁷⁹ The reader constructs a pattern, therefore, by selectively linking "more than two elements in a text" that can be "either continuous or discontinuous from one another."⁸⁰ These textual elements can be "word repetition, sound parallelism, identification of a mutual referent, abstracted synonymity, continuity of a meaning, etc."⁸¹ In terms of Ben-Porat's theory of literary allusion, the reader shapes the intertextual pattern that is provided from and controlled by two independent texts. In doing so, the reader manipulates linkable elements between the alluding text and the evoked text in such a way as to organize them into a meaningful intertextual pattern.⁸²

⁷⁷ Ibid., 110.

⁷⁸ Hrushovski, "An Outline of Integrational Semantics," 60.

⁷⁹ Hrushovski, "Theory of the Literary Text," 638.

⁸⁰ Hrushovski, "Segmentation and Motivation," 119.

⁸¹ Ben-Porat and Hrushovski, "Structuralist Poetics in Israel," 15.

⁸² Ibid., 13, suggest that there can be "the patternability of certain elements in a literary text" or "a basic mechanism for creating patterns in a literary text." They further provide a number of principles in which the reader links elements to make a pattern. The reader links textual elements that are: "a) formal or implied; b) continuous (meter, descriptive passage) or discontinuous (rhyme, plot); c) homogenous

Intertextual patterns are rich. The reader further produces intertextual patterns by linking additional elements of the activated alluding and evoked texts.⁸³ This does not mean, however, that the reader freely creates his idea independently of the text. Instead, any semantic pattern that the reader constructs by integrating elements of two texts should represent the idea *inherent* in the whole system of the two texts themselves. It is simply because that the reader shapes the idea on the basis of several pieces of information provided by various linkings between the texts.

IV. Internal Allusion

“Internal allusion” is an essential aspect of literary allusion, which will be instrumental in my interpretation of texts in Daniel. As the reader recognizes an allusion, the sign of the directional marker in a text can refer to some allusive, marked components outside the text. In this case, as in Ben-Porat’s studies, allusion is characterized as a text-linking device that operates dominantly on the level of an inter-textual relationship. By contrast, internal allusion occurs when a text “echoes some part of the text in which it appears, previous to its occurrence.”⁸⁴ In other words, internal allusion can be a “direct or approximate citation, not of another text, but of one part by another part of the same text.”⁸⁵ In particular, Conte elaborates on the function of internal allusion. In Conte’s work, internal allusion is explained as “internal resonance” or “integrative

(inherent aspects of sound such as rhymes) or heterogeneous (statements by the author, utterances of characters, presentation of historical figures, the reader’s conclusions from plot); d) stable or temporary (misleading explanations in a mysterious novel or certain visual details of imagery that will be changed in plot); e) unequivocal or hovering; f) certain or possible; g) closed (rhyme), semi-closed (psychology of a character) or open (alliteration; plot, biography); and h) purely-literary or reality-like.” (pp. 18-20).

⁸³ Hrushovski, “An Outline of Integrational Semantics,” 60, states that “Elements within a text may be linked semantically not only to their immediate context or not even to other elements in the same text but to relevant elements elsewhere—either verbal or verbalizable.”

⁸⁴ Perri, “On Alluding,” 300.

⁸⁵ Viglione, “Internal Allusion and Symmetry,” 239. Perri, “On Alluding,” 295-296, 305, introduces the idea of “self-echo” that is an alternate term for “internal allusion.”

allusion,” which fuses the originary text and the target text into a unified whole.⁸⁶ Activating the reader’s memory, this integrative allusion tends to harmonize the two texts. Therefore, internal allusion functions not only as a “text-linking device” but also, more importantly, as a “text-unifying device.”⁸⁷ In this case, allusion operates on the level of an intra-textual relationship. Internal allusion or intratextual allusion often forges a junction of allusion, while functioning as inter-literary allusion to texts outside Daniel.⁸⁸

In terms of form, internal allusion occurs on three different levels: 1) the morphemic level (repeated words, phrases); 2) the semantic level (repeated meanings through paraphrases); and 3) on the phonetic level (repeated sounds through cognates or homonyms).⁸⁹ In Daniel one text engages an allusive conversation with the other text, moving beyond their immediate contexts and constituting internal allusion. As Lester well describes, our analysis of internal allusions in Daniel may well enhance “narrative unity” of the whole book.⁹⁰ Thus in my exploration of allusions in Daniel, internal allusion will reveal the manner in which texts in Daniel are shown to be coherently and proportionally organized.

⁸⁶ Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation*, 66-67. Conte proposes two main types of allusion: “integrative allusion” and “reflective allusion.” The first integrates two separate texts and hence “produces a condensation of two voices in a single image,” whereas the latter juxtaposes two different texts, facilitating a dialogue between “two voices virtually autonomous” (p. 67).

⁸⁷ Viglione, “Internal Allusion and Symmetry,” 239.

⁸⁸ Hrushovski, “Theory of the Literary Text,” 640-645, introduces the concept of a junction where several literary patterns such as rhyme, meter, plot, ideas, and characters meet. Hrushovski highlights rhyming words as a locus of poetic junction. We can apply the concept to the cases in which a pattern takes on multiple functions internally as well as intertextually.

⁸⁹ Perri, “On Alluding,” 305. I modify the third level of Perri’s model. Perri includes in the phonetic level examples such as internal, terminal rhyme, alliteration, assonance—all are rather rarely attested in poetics of the Hebrew Bible. But as I will show in my analysis of allusion in Daniel, cognates and homonym play a critical role in allusion in Daniel.

⁹⁰ G. Brooke Lester, “Daniel Evokes Isaiah: The Rule of the Nations in Apocalyptic Allusion-Narrative” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 2007), 88-91 (here, p. 88).

V. Criteria for Identifying Literary Allusions in Daniel

In studying a variety of textual interconnections in the Hebrew Bible, as I have briefly surveyed, it is an extraordinarily difficult matter to determine the nature of complex relationships between texts. Nevertheless, there have been notable methodological attempts to develop a set of perimeters for dealing with the textual dependence and its specific functions.⁹¹ The numerous criteria scholars proposed are concerned not only with allusion but also with a wide spectrum of related studies conducted under a variety of rubrics such as “echo,” “typology,” “quotation,” “mimesis,” “rewriting,” “inner-biblical discourse,” and the “use” of some particular texts in the

⁹¹ I found the following literature helpful: Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letter of Paul* (1989), 29-32; Alter, *The Pleasure of Reading* (1989), 129-135; Dale C. Allison Jr., *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1993), 19-20; Edenburg, “How (not) to Murder a King” (1998), 72-74; Schultz, *The Search for Quotation* (1999), 72-74; G.K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Wm.B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1999), 76-105; Dale C. Allison Jr., *The Intertextual Jesus: Scripture in Q* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000), 10-13; David Carr, “Method in Determination of Direction of Dependence: An Empirical Test of Criteria Applied to Exodus 34, 11-26 and its Parallels,” in *Gottes Volk am Sinai: Untersuchungen zu Ex 32-34 und Dtn 9-10* (VWGT 18; ed. Matthias Köckert und Erhard Blum; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2001), 107-140 (esp. 108-112, 126); Denis R. MacDonald, “Introduction,” in *Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity* (ed. idem; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2001), 2-3; Jon Paulien, “Criteria and the Assessment of Allusions to the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation,” in *Studies in the Book of Revelation* (ed. Steve Moyise; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2001), 127-129; Adele Berlin, “Qumran Laments and the Study of Lament Literature,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature*, January, 2000, (STDJ 48; Esther G. Chazon et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 6-17; Esther G. Chazon, “The Use of the Bible as a Key to Meaning in Psalms from Qumran,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 85-96 (esp. 95-96); Marko Jauhiainen, *The Use of Zechariah in Revelation* (WUNT II 199; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 33-35; Benjamin G. Wold, *Women, Men, and Angels: The Qumran Wisdom Document Musar leMevin and its Allusions to Genesis Creation Traditions* (WUNT II 201; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 77-79; Julie A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot* (STDJ 59; Brill: Leiden, 2006), 50-54; Jeffrey Stackert, “Rewriting the Torah: Literary Revision in Deuteronomy and the Holiness Legislation” (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 2006), 26-36; Jeremy Daniel Smoak, “Building Houses and Planting Vineyards: The Inner-biblical Discourse of an Ancient Israelite Wartime Curse” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2007), 5-31 (esp. 21-31); Jeffery M. Leonard, “Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions: Psalm 78 as a Test Case,” *JBL* 127/2 (2008):241-265 (esp. 245-257); Michael A. Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy: Ezekiel’s Use of the Holiness Code* (LHBOTS 507; New York: T & T Clark, 2009), 47-75 (esp. 59-75); and, Yitzhak Berger, “Ruth and Inner-Biblical Allusion: The Case of 1 Samuel 25,” *JBL* 128/2 (2009):253-272 (esp. 254-257). Jauhiainen, *The Use of Zechariah in Revelation*, 30-32, abandons “the quest for objective criteria,” seeing the quest as ineffective. Similarly, Stackert, “Rewriting the Torah,” 32, chooses not to propose criteria for identifying allusion, analyzing instead “particularities of each example of literary reuse.”

Bible. Always at issue is the question of how we identify the presence of the author-designed allusion, namely, how we distinguish the purposeful allusion from the unplanned similarities of common linguistic pool. Most of the scholars' proposed models, insights, limitations, and cautions overlap to varying degrees. All previous criteria resulted from particular texts that scholars chose for their studies. Moreover, no scholars have been able to create a perfect model of criteria that are applicable to all the texts in Scripture. My criteria for identifying literary allusion in Daniel are indebted to their various models. I do not claim that my criteria should be an absolute checklist of one's study of intertextuality in Daniel. At times, as Alter judiciously remarks, one should depend on "common sense" rather than "some arcane technology."⁹²

In formulating my criteria, I consider three principle factors of the literary allusion: 1) The *form* of the sign of the allusion, namely, how distinctively the formal feature of a marker represents the linked element in the precursory text; 2) the *function* of the allusion, namely, how specifically an interaction between two texts influences the reader's understanding; and finally 3) the *relation* of the alluding text to the evoked text, namely, how we describe the relation in which the intertextual fusion generates new meaning.⁹³ With these three interests in mind, I suggest that the reader of Daniel can identify more plausibly the presence of literary allusion by the following evidences:

1. **Lexical and Syntactical Agreement.** The shared verbal and structural parallels serve to underscore the possibility of the presence of an allusion. As Leonard asserts, "shared language is the single most important factor in establishing a textual connection."⁹⁴ The shared language as a sign of allusion further means that both texts are similar (or, often identical) in terms of style

⁹² Alter, *The Pleasure of Reading*, 129. Similarly, Schultz, *The Search for Quotation*, 59, points out that application of scholars' criteria is "almost unavoidably subjective."

⁹³ On these three variables, see Alter, *The Pleasure of Reading*, 119.

⁹⁴ Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions," 246.

and literary genre in such a way as to heighten their interconnectedness.⁹⁵ It should be pointed out, too, that linguistic similarities are often accompanied by some variations that hint at decisive clues as to the author's perspective.

2. Quantitative Density of Allusion. The author increases the density of presence of allusion when "the shared locutions occur in a significantly higher proportion in the source and target texts than in other texts."⁹⁶ The more densely signs of allusion are embedded in two texts, the more highly the author-intentional textual interaction through allusion is endorsed. This criterion is closely related to the "totality of the intertextual allusions," which is confirmed when a set of allusive signs between two texts show a single source to be prominent.⁹⁷ A set of allusions within limited textual boundaries "often radiate out to contiguous allusions."⁹⁸ In this regard, Berger rightly argues that "an especially dense cluster of similarities might prove decisive even where each of them, taken individually, could otherwise have been seen as coincidental: the larger the number of moderately suggestive parallels, the more compelling they become when considered together."⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Devorah Dimant, "Use and Interpretation of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. Martin Jan Mulder; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 379-419, convincingly demonstrates the continuity of style of a biblical text in various Jewish documents in the Second Temple period.

⁹⁶ Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy*, 68. Lyon calls this criterion "Frequency and Distribution of Locutions," citing Schultz, *Search for Quotation*, 222-223, 231. See also Plett, "Intertextualities," 11; and Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions," 246-257. Leonard's excellent discussion of eight principles for evaluating textual links is especially helpful.

⁹⁷ Chazon, "The Use of the Bible as a Key to Meaning," 95.

⁹⁸ Alter, *The Pleasures of Reading*, 118. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 79-86, discusses "combined allusions and the issue of literary consciousness," though he argues that John does not intend the contextual transference through allusion.

⁹⁹ Berger, "Ruth and Inner-Biblical Allusion," 254.

3. Reenactment of Similar Circumstances.¹⁰⁰ The author designs a narrative event, conversation, the main point, and any particular textual elements to imitate another circumstantially similar one. In doing so, the author reinforces the “degree of similarity/continuity” between the two linked texts in terms of content, genre, and context.¹⁰¹ It is possible that a similar circumstance can be evoked by a situation without linguistic similarity.¹⁰² However, the use of similar circumstances is powerfully bolstered as it includes the shared language, imagery, theme, or structure.¹⁰³ Moreover, the use of similar circumstances in Daniel recurs in later Jewish texts that allude to Daniel. This criterion controls the fourth stage of my analysis of allusion in Daniel, namely, the Exegetical Stream of Allusion. There I demonstrate that the allusion in Daniel to early biblical text is remodeled in a later text in the Second Temple period. This continued actualization of circumstances with/out modification not only will effectively enhance the presence of allusion in Daniel but also will help us understand what the allusion in Daniel means.

4. The Purposeful Use of Scripture. Allusions are identified when the author uses, in a purposeful way, earlier biblical texts. The author’s deliberate use of Scripture may well be more palpable when the author *modifies* a textual element of the evoked text. The reason for modification can be either to harmonize both texts or to offer his explanation of the evoked text. i) When the author harmonizes both texts, the reader finds the alluding text to be ideologically controlled by the evoked text; namely, the author’s modification occurs under *conceptual*

¹⁰⁰ Allison, *The New Moses*, 19-20, suggests “Similar Circumstances.”

¹⁰¹ Chazon, “The Use of the Bible as a Key to Meaning,” 96.

¹⁰² Alter, *The Pleasures of Reading*, 122, argues that “the marker may be situational, without any verbal borrowing, direct or veiled, from the evoked text.” Alter finds an example in Joshua 3 where “the parting of the waters of the Jordan uses note of the language that reports the parting of the Sea of Reeds in Exodus, with the solitary exception of the word ‘heap’ (*ned*).”

¹⁰³ Allison, *Allusions and Aural Memories*, 11.

dependence of the alluding text on the evoked text. ii) By contrast, the author can choose to *transform* an early text, betraying the author's particular understanding of the source text. In this case the author tends to contextualize the source text in his new composition. In other words, the authorial transformation often shows "an adaptation of an element [in the source text] to shifting circumstances/ideas."¹⁰⁴

5. Transference of Context.¹⁰⁵ The author designs allusion to function as a literary vehicle in which the context of the evoked text is transferred to and activated in the alluding text. This kind of allusion acts like "a vehicle and a tenor," in Berlin's words, "pulling meaning from one context and inserting it into another."¹⁰⁶ As a result, the inserted context interacts with the con/text of the alluding text, becoming the "unspoken horizons of reference" for the reader.¹⁰⁷ Like the metonymic relationship between a directional marker in a given text and the marker-evoked external text, this unspoken context fused into the alluding text is of a metonymic nature. The activated context of the evoked text constitutes the "referential horizon" into which the reader is led to be plugged in the course of understanding the alluding text.¹⁰⁸ This criterion is important particularly in the third stage of my analyzing procedure of the activation of the

¹⁰⁴ Carr, "Method in Determination of Direction of Dependence," 126.

¹⁰⁵ Schultz, *The Search for Quotation*, 224-227, deals with "contextual awareness, including interpretive use."

¹⁰⁶ Berlin, "Qumran Laments and the Study of Lament Literature," 17. Similarly, Adele Berlin, "Interpreting Torah Traditions in Psalm 105," in *Jewish Biblical Interpretation and Cultural Exchange: Comparative Exegesis in Context* (ed. Natalie B. Dohrmann and David Stern; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2008), 27, states: "An allusion to an authoritative text like the Torah, presumably well known to the audience, is accompanied by the context of the alluded passage and by the commonly accepted understanding of it. A double allusion juxtaposes two texts and their contexts, and the meaning is made through the combination."

¹⁰⁷ April D. DeConick, *Recovering the Original Gospel of Thomas: A History of the Gospel and Its Growth* (London: T & T Clark, 2005), 8-10, discusses "the referential horizon of traditions" based on John M. Foley's studies on oral tradition (here, 8).

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 9. Schultz, *The Search for Quotation*, 225-226, states: "More often, however, the relationship between the quoted and the quoting context is left implicit for readers to respond to as they become aware of either their coherence or the contrast between them."

literary allusion, the Maximum Activation of Allusion. There allusion functions between larger contexts of the linked texts. The reader goes beyond the boundaries of two texts that are linked solely by the signs of allusion. The reader begins to understand the alluding text (a fragment story) against the broader context of the evoked text (the fuller story) that the reader remembers.¹⁰⁹

Although any distinctive form of the allusive sign can signal the contextual transference, two special cases are more remarkable. i) Use of Motif/Keyword as a Sign of Allusion. Transference of context is signaled when either the evoked text or its larger context contains a word-motif or a keyword that the author intends to activate in the alluding text. When detected as a sign of allusion, the motif or the keyword not only firmly links two independent texts; more fascinatingly, it also brings into the fabric of the alluding text the whole connotation that it develops and acquires in the evoked con/text. As a result, the alluding text interacts with, modifies, or transforms the meaning that revolves around the motif or the keyword in the early text.¹¹⁰ This criterion will enhance even more the likelihood of allusion, especially when the word-motif or keyword works in a limited span of textual units. ii) Use of Rarely Occurring Terms as Signs. Rare words tend to be employed as qualitative markers.¹¹¹ It is qualitative because the link of two texts does not rely on quantitative density of allusion such as motifs and keywords. When used as signs of allusion, rarely occurring terms or unique expressions in the Hebrew Bible have a distinguishable force of allusion. Thus Leonard rightly points out “[s]hared

¹⁰⁹ DeConick, *Recovering the Original Gospel of Thomas*, 9, uses terms “fragments of the fuller story” and “the fuller complex of traditions.”

¹¹⁰ Dimant, “Use of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,” 410-419, discusses this phenomenon in The Wisdom of Solomon, Tobit, and book of Job.

¹¹¹ Chazon, “The Use of the Bible as a Key to Meaning,” 95. Similarly, Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*, 53.

language that is rare or distinctive suggests a stronger connection than does language that is widely used.”¹¹²

6. Accumulative Force of Clusters of Allusion. The presence of allusion and its possible function cannot be clearly determined by only one criterion. Each of the markers in a literary text has an evocative power. But “they are related to their context,” showing themselves “conspicuous by virtue of their accumulation.”¹¹³ The same holds true for our identifying allusion. Although each criterion I suggest is useful of its own, the “weight of accumulative evidence will strengthen the claim of the interrelatedness” that the author devises.¹¹⁴ The more criteria the reader finds, the stronger the evidence for identification of allusion. Thus I develop an analyzing procedure in which I demonstrate that a set of allusions are found in a delimited text, interact with one another, and expand the textual scope of their interactions.

To texts in Daniel that will be analyzed according to the procedure I describe in the next section, I will apply either my criteria or other scholars’ criteria that are not fully introduced in this chapter. In doing so, I embrace in general descriptive approach to each text rather than prescriptive approach.

VI. The Procedure of Analysis of Allusion in Daniel

I would like to provide the procedure in which to analyze the literary allusion in Daniel. I will examine each section of allusive text in Daniel according to four stages. I draw heavily upon the Ben-Porat proposed model of activation of the literary allusion with some modifications that I

¹¹² Leonard, “Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions,” 251.

¹¹³ Ben-Porat, “The Poetics of Allusion,” 67.

¹¹⁴ Edenburg, “How (not) to Murder a King” 72 (See also, p. 77).

make to facilitate my study of allusion in Daniel¹¹⁵: 1. The Main Signs of Allusion; 2. The Supplemental Signs of Allusion; 3. Maximum Activation of Allusion; and 4. Exegetical Stream of Allusion. I integrate the first three stages of Ben-Porat's model into the first two stages of my analytical procedure. The third stage in my analytical framework corresponds practically to the fourth stage in Ben-Porat's procedure. To the Ben-Porat suggested procedure, I add a new stage in which I trace the exegetical trajectory of allusion in Daniel. In this stage I highlight the literary afterlife of allusion (or, history of motif) in such a way as to affirm the meaning of allusion that I provide through the previous three stages. Let me briefly describe each stage and its primary purposes.

A. Main Signs of Allusion

By "sign" I mean both a directional marker in an alluding text and a marked component in an evoked text. The marker-sign directs the reader's attention to the marked-sign in the evoked text through their principal linguistic properties such as phonological, morphological, syntactical, and semantic ones. The spectrum of the signs encompasses not only formally identical data (e.g., "an exact quotation" or a "name") but also verbal repetition with modification ("a distorted quotation," "a unique noun in a new declension").¹¹⁶ The signs of allusion can be either overt or covert depending on whether authors intend to stress or conceal the borderlines between the embedded signs ("inset") and the surrounding context of the signs ("frame").¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Ben-Porat's theory has been warmly received in biblical studies. See Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 11-13; Dimant, "Use and Interpretation of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," 379; Jauhiainen, *The Use of Zechariah in Revelation*, 30-32; and, John Strazicich, *Joel's Use of Scripture and the Scripture's Use of Joel: Appropriation and Resignification in Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity* (BIS 82; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 27.

¹¹⁶ Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," 110.

¹¹⁷ Sternberg, "Proteus in Quotation-Land," 108, proposing the concept of "inset" within the surrounding frame of the context-of-quotation, states that "For regardless of the formal relation between

I classify the signs of allusion as two separate groups according to the degree of allusive force: the main signs and the supplemental signs.¹¹⁸ Once I provide and examine a group of the main signs, then I move to the supplemental signs. The main signs of allusion show more explicit relationship between the marker and the marked than the supplemental signs. The main signs prompt the reader to find source texts more immediately than the supplemental signs.

B. Supplemental Signs of Allusion

The differentiation between the main signs and the supplemental signs depends mainly on the degree of clarity of linguistic kinship between the marker and the marked. Although the points of connection between the supplemental signs too rely heavily on verbal indicators, they are often more conceptual than linguistic. If the signs are distinctively more lexical than ideological, I categorize them as main signs. If they are more ideological than lexical, I categorize them as supplemental. More important, the supplemental signs come to be recognized more readily once the main signs are clearly detected. For this reason, the supplemental signs tend to loom large under the stronger allusive force of the main signs. In composing texts with elements evocative of an early text, the author of Daniel designs less distinctive signs of allusion to operate through

inset and frame—say, the paratactic linkage of direct report vs. the embedding linkage of indirectness—the framing of an element within a text entails a communicative subordination of the part to the whole that encloses it.” Sternberg’s “inset”-“frame” model, though he uses the term quotation rather than allusion, explains the embedded text as transferring the context of its originary text into the target text.

¹¹⁸ My concept of “main/supplementary sign” is based on Ben-Porat’s concept of the strong/weak sign. Ben-Porat, “The Poetics of Allusion,” 171, states that “poets prefer to strengthen the marker by more indirect means. The most important of these is the accumulating effect of several weak markers or the clustering of several weak markers around an initially strong one.” Scholars often differentiate two categories of signs according to degree of evocation. Fitzmyer, “The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations,” 16-58, proposes “explicit quotation” and “implicit quotation.” Similarly, Alter, *The Pleasure of Reading*, 119, discerns “direct” markers and “oblique” markers. Göran Hermerén, “Allusions and Intentions,” in *Intention and Interpretation* (ed. Gary Iseminger; Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 216, suggests three categories of allusion: “in the weak sense,” “in the standard sense,” and “in the strong sense.” Likewise, Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 78, categorizes three “allusive categories”: “clear allusion,” “probable allusion,” and “possible allusion.”

dynamics in which more distinctive signs of allusion firmly link the two texts. Thus both the main and supplemental signs of allusion constitute a whole unified system of signs, both linguistically and ideologically.

In identifying the main and supplemental signs of allusion, I attempt to explain them according to how they convey meaning within their local text, how their local interpretations form intertextual patterns, and how these intertextual patterns mutually influence their local interpretations. The need for this multiple interpretations is based on the nature of text: "A text doesn't only 'say' things explicitly, but 'conveys' unstated meanings as well. A text is a body of language full of gaps, ellipses, unlinked units, to be read and understood, i.e., to be filled out and reorganized in the mind of a 'proper' reader."¹¹⁹

C. Maximum Activation of Allusion

In this stage of the "full-scale actualization of allusions," the reader manipulates diverse forms of intertextuality beyond the boundaries of two texts.¹²⁰ I attempt to portray "an ideal maximal meaning" of the literary allusion in Daniel.¹²¹ The reader achieves the maximum meaning of the literary allusion that works between the larger contexts of the signs of allusion. It is "maximum" meaning in that the intertextual patterns do not include the marker or the marked in their components.¹²² Thus I examine semantic correspondences available from dynamic interplays

¹¹⁹ Ben-Porat and Hrushovski, "Structuralist Poetics in Israel," 14.

¹²⁰ Ben-Porat, "Forms of Intertextuality and the Reading of Poetry," 259. I borrow terms from what she calls "the second reading" of poetic text. The second reading is similar to the fourth stage of her schematization of activation of literary allusion (Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," 111).

¹²¹ Ben-Porat and Hrushovski, "Structuralist Poetics in Israel," 15

¹²² Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," 111. Similarly, Joseph Pucci, *The Full-Knowing Reader: Allusion and the Power of the Reader in the Western Literary Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 43-44, proposes "allusive space," in which a "dialogue may extend to places and topics that have nothing at all to do with the two works that constitute the allusion, whose

between the wider context of the alluding text in Daniel and that of the evoked text in an earlier biblical text. In other words, while probing “all possible interconnected constructions of meaning” on the macro-contextual level, I pursue “a maximal functionality of all elements and all orders of elements” in the literary allusion.¹²³ In analyzing allusion in Alexander Pope’s *The Rape of the Lock*, E.R. Wasserman lucidly expresses the crucial need for interpretation of contexts of allusion: “[T]he reader is not only to appreciate the poet’s invention in finding appropriate allusions but is actively invited by them to exercise, within poetic reason, his own invention by contemplating the relevances of the entire allusive context and its received interpretation ... Such literature as this is constituted not only by its own verbal texture but also by the *rich interplay between the author’s text and the full contexts it allusively arouses*, for these allusive resonances are not peripheral but functional to the meaning of the artistic product.”¹²⁴

In particular, this maximal activation of allusion occurs in the “semantic field” of the allusive echo that Hollander portrays as, in the medieval and Renaissance rhetorical term, “metalepsis”/“transumption.”¹²⁵ This allusive echo creates the “conceptual space” where the reader is called on to “consider the unmentioned,” “unstated, suppressed” presence of precursory text in the subsequent text.¹²⁶ In this “optimal actualization of the semantic potential” of the literary allusion,¹²⁷ as Hays nicely puts, the reader is placed “within a field of whispered or

language nonetheless occasions their articulation ... this dialogue ensures that the reader assumes complete interpretive power over the allusive moment” (p. 43).

¹²³ Ben-Porat and Hrushovski, “Structuralist Poetics in Israel,” 15; and, Hrushovski, “Theory of the Literary Text,” 637.

¹²⁴ Earl R. Wasserman, “The Limits of Allusion in ‘The Rape of the Lock,’” *JEGP* 65/3 (1966): 443-444 (emphasis mine).

¹²⁵ Hollander, *The Figure of Eco*, 134, citing the Austrian critic Leo Spitzer.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 113-115.

¹²⁷ Ben-Porat, “Forms of Intertextuality and the Reading of Poetry,” 259.

unstated correspondences,” while prompted to “uncover suppressed intertextual connections.”¹²⁸ In doing so, the reader of Daniel undergoes the “aesthetic experience,” in which to participate in “creating a whole network of patterns in the process of reading.”¹²⁹

D. Exegetical Stream of Allusion

In this stage of activation of the literary allusion, I investigate the exegetical trajectory in which the allusion in Daniel develops into the subsequent literature in ancient Israel. I describe how a particular allusion inherent in Daniel resurfaces as a motif in some relevant documents in the Jewish Pseudepigrapha and in the New Testament books. In particular, I focus on the manner in which the later literature adapts the motif to a new reality that it reflects.

In describing the reception history of literary allusions in Daniel, I will argue that allusion as motif is continued and transformed in later Jewish and Christian religious documents. Indeed, the literary afterlife of the Danielic allusion constitutes an essential part of my study of the use of Scripture in Daniel. Examining the *Nachleben* of a motif is an essential stage in which students of biblical allusion understand more precisely the nature of biblical intertextuality.¹³⁰ In ancient Israel the literary allusion functions as a social device for understanding the present in terms of the past scriptural tradition. In general, the literary allusion is “shaped by a nostalgia for the lost event,” and in “allusiveness we seek to follow the trace of the even to its origin, an origin which eludes us.”¹³¹ The nostalgia for the past is pulled not so much by “a desire to re-enter the past” as

¹²⁸ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letter of Paul*, 20, 25. In other words, “Allusive echo functions to suggest to the reader that text B should be understood in light of a broad interplay with text A, encompassing aspects of A beyond those explicitly echoed” (p. 20).

¹²⁹ Ben-Porat and Hrushovski, “Structuralist Poetics in Israel,” 20.

¹³⁰ Wold, *Women, Men, and Angels*, 48.

¹³¹ Susan Stewart, “The Pickpocket: A Study in Tradition and Allusion,” *MLN* 95/5 (1980):1128.

by “a desire to transform the present, and the self of the present.”¹³² Through the simultaneous activation of the past text and the present text by the literary allusion, the reader seeks for “simultaneous experience of the lifeworld” that spans the past as well as the present.¹³³ In the Hebrew Bible, what often underlies the literary allusion is “a sense of absolute historical continuity and recurrence.”¹³⁴

Therefore, the allusion in transmission from Daniel to later Judeo-Christian documents evidences the activities of the ancient biblical interpreters in the postexilic Jewish society. They entertained a desire to return to the lifestyle of ancestors, by either continuing the meaning of an older text or transforming the meaning of the earlier text to what they want it to mean.¹³⁵ In doing so they shape an exegetical motif which is the interpreters’ “explanation of a biblical verse (or phrase or word therein) that becomes the basis for some ancient writer’s expansion or other alteration of what Scripture actually says.”¹³⁶ In terms of history of idea, the allusion in Daniel to early biblical texts shows Daniel to be an integral part of the collective memory embodied in the Hebrew Bible.¹³⁷

¹³² Ibid., 1128. Thus, “the devices of allusion” are “the devices of nostalgia” (p. 1129).

¹³³ Stewart, “The Pickpocket,” 1130.

¹³⁴ Robert Alter, *The World of Biblical Literature* (New York: BasicBooks, 1992), 117. Similarly, in Greek tragedy allusion emphasizes “convention,” reminding the audience that “it is like or unlike” earlier works. See Richard Garner, *From Homer to Tragedy: The Art of Allusion in Greek Poetry* (London: Routledge, 1990), 179. Three tragedians such as Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides show a common tendency to allude interpretively to Homer (pp. 180-182).

¹³⁵ Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 4-6.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 27.

¹³⁷ In this regard, the allusion in transmission can be regarded as inner-biblical history of motifs or inner-biblical discourse. See Smoak, “Building Houses and Planting Vineyards,” 22-31. Smoak mentions Shemaryahu Talmon, “The ‘Desert Motif’ in the Bible and in Qumran Literature,” in *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations* (PLIAJSBUST 3; ed. Alexander Altmann: Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 31-63; and, Michael Fishbane, “The Well of Living Water: A Biblical Motif and Its Ancient Transformation,” in “*Sha‘arei Talmon*”: *Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. idem et al.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 3-16.

Chapter Three: The Use of Genesis in Daniel

I. Preliminary Research of the Pentateuch in Daniel

Although the Pentateuch has served as a written and sacred source of ancient biblical interpreters, there has been minimal research on the Pentateuch's impact on Daniel. Only recent years have witnessed some increase of scholarly attention. David Satran, for example, is concerned with how Leviticus illuminates Daniel's patterns of fasting and dietary restriction.¹ Winfried Vogel argues that Daniel borrows several terms involving the "sanctuary" from Leviticus (מִקְדָּשׁ; קֹדֶשׁ; קִדְּשִׁים) (Dan 8:11, 13f; 9:17, 24, 26)—terms that constitute a "frame of reference for any hope of the exiles for restoration," which is based on their covenanted relation with God.² A few students of Daniel have paid attention to the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32. In Deut 32:8, where Moses addresses the divine delimitation of boundaries for the nations "according to the number of the sons of Israel,"³ David E. Stevens finds an ideological resonance with the concept

¹ David Satran, "Daniel: Seer, Philosopher, Holy Man," in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (ed. Johan J. Collins and George W.E. Nickelsburg; Chico, Scholar Press, 1980), 33-48. He finds connections between Lev 11:37-38 and Dan 1:12, 16 (pp. 33-34) and between Lev 16:29; 23:27-32 and Dan 9:12 (pp. 35-36, 44, n. 8). Similarly, Rex A. Mason, "The Treatment of Earlier Biblical Themes in the Book of Daniel," in *The Perspectives on the Hebrew Bible: Essays on Honor of Walter J. Harrelson* (ed. James L. Crenshaw; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1988), 81-100, argues that the dietary laws (Lev 3:17; 11:1-47; 20:24-27) are "assumed" in Daniel 1, and that the idea of the land in sabbatical rest (Lev 2:6; 26:34-36) is marked in Daniel 9 (pp 84, 93). For numerous links between Daniel 9 and Leviticus, see André Lacocque, "The Liturgical Prayer in Daniel 9," *HUCA* 47 (1976): 119-142.

² Winfried Vogel, *The Cultic Motif in the Book of Daniel* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 29-30, 48-66; see also idem, "The Cultic Motif in Space and Time in the Book of Daniel" (Ph.D. diss., Andrews University, 1999), 65-94 (here, p. 65).

³ Heb. לְמִסְפַּר בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל. The expression is notorious for its textual problem. Some modern translators render it as "according to the sons of God" (E.g., the Jerusalem Bible, the Revised Standard Version), perhaps assuming that the reading of Old Greek, "κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ" (according to the number of angels of God). See David E. Stevens, "Does Deuteronomy 32:8 Refer to 'Sons of God' or 'Sons of Israel,'" *BSac* 154 (1997):131-133.

of the protective angles in Daniel.⁴ Eugene P. McGarry deals with another text-critical issue of Deuteronomy 32, arguing that textual criticism counterbalances inner-biblical interpretation. For McGarry, the meaning of the “ambidextrous” angel in Dan 12:7 comes not from its inner-biblical exegesis but rather from its “fluidity of the Hebrew text.”⁵ Marius Nel examines the extent in which Daniel draws in many ways on the Pentateuch, while reaching the unlikely conclusion that the important themes and traditions of the Pentateuch were insignificant to the writer of Daniel.⁶

A. Genesis in Daniel: The Role of Creation in Daniel

Most noteworthy studies are involved with intertextuality between Genesis and Daniel. Recent critical debates have tended to center around two key issues: the role of creation in Daniel and the impact of the Joseph story on Daniel. The creation theology in Genesis is crucial to the political perspective of Daniel. Heinrich Groß investigates how Genesis 10 and 11 contribute to the theme of the divine sovereignty in Daniel.⁷ For Groß, Daniel interprets the course of world history in terms of imperial politics. In Genesis humankind is envisioned as increasingly

⁴ Ibid., 131-132, 139. Stevens mentions in brief Dan 3:25 and 10:13, 20, while focusing mainly on text-critical issues involving Deut 32:8. More recently, idem, “Daniel 10 and the Notion of Territorial Spirits,” *BSac* 157 (2000):410-431 (esp. pp. 412, 428-429). Steven’s view is disputed by Michael S. Heiser, “Deuteronomy 32:8 and the Sons of God,” *BSac* 158 (2001): 52-74 (esp. p. 55).

⁵ Eugene P. McGarry, “The Ambidextrous Angel (Daniel 12:7 and Deuteronomy 32:40): Inner-Biblical Exegesis and Textual Criticism in Counterpoint,” *JBL* 124 (2005): 211-228 (here, p. 227).

⁶ Marius Nel, “Pentateugtradisies en –temas in Daniël,” *HTS* 61/4 (2005): 1321-1337, suggests plausible interactions between Daniel and the Pentateuch under seven rubrics. He deals frequently with Leviticus: (1) Shinar (Gen 10:10; 11:2; 14:1, 9; Dan 1:2), (2) Clean and Unclean Food (Exodus 34; Lev 11:3, 7-9, 12, 46-47; 17:10-14; Dan 1:8-16), (3) Wisdom (Genesis 37-50; Dan 1:17; 2:20-23, 27-28; 8:13), (4) Daily Offering (Exod 29:42; Num 28:3, 10; Dan 8:11-12; 10:21), (5) Covenant and Law (Lev 26:40-42; Daniel 9); (6) Sanctuary (Leviticus 26; Num 5:21; Deut 29:20-21; 30:7; 9:16-19); and, (7) Sacrifice (Dan 2:46; 9:27; 11:31). For his conclusion, see pp. 1322-1324, 1327-1334.

⁷ Heinrich Groß, “Weltherrschaft als Gottesherrschaft nach Genesis 11,1-9 und Daniel 7: Bibeltheologische Überlegungen,” in *Gottesherrschaft, Weltherrschaft: Festschrift Rudolf Graber zum Abschied von seiner Diözese Regensburg überreicht von Professoren der Katholisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Regensburg und Priestern der Diözese Regensburg im Hochschuldienst September 1980* (ed. Johann Auer et al.; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet Verlag, 1980), 15-22.

multiplied, excessively obsessed with power, and continuously estranged from the divine creator.⁸ Daniel declares that either an individual's power over others or a people's rule over other peoples contradicts the fundamental order of divine creation. As shown in Daniel 7, such an unlimited will for power inevitably meets the divine judgment at the end of times.⁹ The theme of politics in Daniel is further explored by some exegetes. Jacques B. Doukhan holds that the "importance of the idea of creation" in Daniel is indicative of its audience's thought world at the "times of crisis" that Antiochus IV occasioned.¹⁰ Similarly, interpreting the "historical crisis" to inspire the vision of resurrection, Ann E. Gardner contends that blissful revival of the righteous in Daniel 12 should be taken as apocalyptic reversal of the divine condemnation of Adam in Genesis 3.¹¹

As Robert R. Wilson delves into the theme of chaos versus creation in Daniel 7, his special interest lies in how Daniel 7 modifies non-Jewish mythological cosmogony. He suggests that Daniel's presentation of the harsh reality under Antiochus IV should be understood not so much against the background of Mesopotamian-Canaanite mythologies but against the biblical

⁸ Ibid., 21, states that "Denn nach ihm nimmt die Weltgeschichte, auf sich allein gestellt, ihren Weg in zunehmende Ordnungslosigkeit, maßlose Machtbesessenheit und damit in wachsende Gottesferne, die gleichzeitig gesteigerte Inhumanität ist."

⁹ Ibid., 21, 20, states that "Macht eines Menschen über andere Menschen, Herrschaft eines Volkes über andere Völker widerspricht der göttlichen Grundordnung ... Die Durchsetzung solchen hybriden uneingeschränkten Machtwillens ist eine Verletzung der in der Schöpfung der Menschen und Völker von Gott in sie hineingelegten Grundordnung und fordert unweigerlich Gottes Gericht heraus."

¹⁰ Jacques B. Doukhan, "Allusions à la création dans le livre de Daniel: Dépistage et Significations" in *The Book of Daniel: In the Light of New Findings* (ed. A.S. van der Woude; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 291. Yet his argument is often doubtful. For example, he holds that the act of the chief eunuch's naming four Judeans (Dan 1:7-8) belongs specifically to the context of the creation account of the divine and Adamic act of naming creatures (Gen 1:5, 8, 10; 2:19-20) (p. 286).

¹¹ Anne E. Gardner, "The Way to Eternal Life in Dan 12:1e-2 or How to Reverse the Death Curse of Genesis 3," *ABR* 40 (1992):1-19 (here, p. 19). In pursuing biblical source of the two contrary fates of the dead that Dan 12:1e-2 depicts, Gardner claims Genesis 3 to be "the core text" (p. 1).

creation account in Genesis.¹² André Lacocque too is deeply concerned with how Daniel 7 appropriates the Near Eastern mythologies to give the apocalyptic solution to wicked politics. The imperfect creation in the beginning in Genesis becomes perfect in the eschaton in Daniel, where God slays the most powerful beast symbolic of Antiochus IV—“the eradication of evil, the eschatological fall of Satan.”¹³ Unlike Wilson, however, Lacocque affirms that the extra-biblical myth was crucial in the shaping of the Danielic theme of the divine kingship. Daniel 7 was influenced by the Mesopotamian myth of chaos-combat, and, more significantly, the chapter “retells the myth in far greater continuity with the Canaanite version of the cosmogony.”¹⁴

B. Genesis in Daniel: Israel’s Resistance to Imperialism

Of all the Pentateuchal texts that are used in Daniel, the Joseph story in Genesis 41 has been most rigorously probed. Towards the end of the 19th century Ludwig A. Rosenthal observes “a certain kinship among the Joseph story (Gen 37-50), the book of Esther, and Daniel.”¹⁵ He attempts to specify “non-Jewish courtly circumstances” that underlie the three Jewish stories.¹⁶ Rosenthal regards the Joseph story as literary source for the authors of Daniel. It is now widely

¹² Robert R. Wilson, “Creation and New Creation: The Role of Creation Imagery in the Book of Daniel,” in *God who Creates: Essays in Honor of W. Sibley Towner* (ed. William P. Brown and S. Dean McBride Jr.; Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans, 2000), 190-203 (esp. pp. 199-200). Daniel 7 articulates the permanent extinction of political disorder, implying that “the cycle of reversion to chaos and recreation will finally end, and the earth and the faithful of Israel will finally enjoy the divine rest” (p. 203).

¹³ André Lacocque, “Allusions to Creation in Daniel 7,” in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception vol. 1* (ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 129.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 128.

¹⁵ Ludwig A. Rosenthal, “Die Josephsgeschichte, mit den Büchern Ester und Daniel verglichen,” *ZAW* 15/1 (1895): 278-284 (here, p. 278). See also *idem*, “Nochmals der Vergleich Ester, Joseph-Daniel,” *ZAW* 17/1 (1897): 125-128. Rosenthal’s detailed comparison between Joseph and Daniel is nicely reviewed in Gerald Morris, “Convention and Character in the Joseph Narrative” (*ProcGM* 14; ed. Terrance Callan; Buffalo: Canisius College, 1994), 73-75.

¹⁶ Rosenthal, “Die Josephsgeschichte,” 283.

agreed that the story of Daniel is dependent in one or another way on the story of Joseph (Genesis 40 and 41; Daniel 2 and 4).¹⁷ They are dreamers, divinely chosen dream-interpreters *par excellence*. As a “destitute (fatherless) young Judean or an Israelite in exile,” they rise “to an unprecedented height at a foreign court.”¹⁸ Some scholars defy the view of a literary dependence of Daniel 2 on Genesis 41, attributing affinities between Joseph and Daniel to a common literary source. Gerald Morris contends that the three narratives of Joseph, Ester, and Daniel draw on the “same generic convention,” namely, the “Hebrew Courtier Tale.”¹⁹ G.G. Labonté advances an extreme view that both chapters belong to the same period in the history of Israel.²⁰

Rather than dwell on the matter of textual dependence, I would like to turn my attention to a more intriguing matter involving the stories of Joseph and Daniel: the religious and political

¹⁷ E.g., André Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1979) 26, 36, states that “Daniel is a replica of Joseph ... Dan. 2 is a midrash on Gen. 41”; Robert Gnuse, “The Jewish Dream Interpreter in a Foreign Court: The Recurring Use of a Theme in Jewish Literature,” *JSP* 7 (1990), 31, holds that the “oneirocritic interpretation” in Daniel 1-6 is “literarily dependent upon the earlier Joseph dream material in Genesis 41”; C.L. Seow, “From Mountain to Mountain: The Reign of God in Daniel 2,” in *A God So Near: Essays on Old Testament Theology in Honor of Patrick D. Miller* (ed. Brent A. Strawn and Nancy R. Bowen; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 373, sees Daniel 2 as “modeled after the Joseph story”; and, Michael Segal, “From Joseph to Daniel: The Literary Development of the Narrative in Daniel 2,” *VT* 59 (2009), 142 remarks that “the Joseph story serves as a literary model for the Daniel tale.”

¹⁸ Shemaryahu Talmon, “Daniel,” in *The Literary Guide to the Bible* (ed. Robert Alter and Frank Kermode; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 350-352 (here, p. 350). See also idem, “‘Wisdom’ in the Book of Esther,” 437.

¹⁹ Morris, “Convention and Character in the Joseph Narrative,” 69-85 (here, p. 75), agreeing with Talmon, “‘Wisdom’ in the Book of Esther,” 455.

²⁰ G.G. Labonté, “Genèse 41 et Daniel 2: Question d’Origine,” in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings* (ed. A.S. van der Woude; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 284, states that “Il est donc possible que le texte de Dn 2 et l’histoire de Joseph, dont Gn 41, datent de la même période de l’histoire d’Israël ... Il n’est donc pas nécessaire de voir en Daniel 2 une copie de Gn 41. Les deux textes peuvent provenir de la même période, influencés tous les deux par un même courant littéraire, par une situation historique semblable). Labonté’s thesis is challenged by Henze, “The Use of Scripture in the Book of Daniel,” 282. Donald B. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph* (Genesis 37-50) (VTSup 20; Leiden: Brill, 1970), 96, n.2, posits that Daniel could be written independently of the Joseph story, while drawing on “a common store of imagery and vocabulary.”

stance of Jewish Diaspora on the rule of the nations.²¹ How did Diaspora Jews understand the foreign masters that govern them? Is it accommodation or resistance that Daniel advocates? Scholars, who emphasize similarities between Joseph and Daniel, tend to find an overtone of accommodation. In his seminal article on the Jewish communities of the Persian and Hellenistic Diaspora in the books of Esther and Daniel, W. Lee Humphreys avers that both books betray a particular ideological attitude of the exiled Jews towards foreign empires.²² The Joseph and Daniel stories demonstrate “the tale of the courtier” of the ancient Near East.²³ The stories of Jewish Diaspora divide into two subcategories: tales of court conflict (Daniel 3 and 6; Esther, Ahiqar) and tales of court contest (Daniel 2, 4, and 5; Genesis 40-41). Like Joseph in Genesis, the Jewish courtiers in Daniel 1-6 attain a socially, politically, and economically successful life in the foreign environment, while remaining simultaneously a dedicated and pious member of their Jewish community.²⁴ As a result, the narratives in Daniel 1-6 are “not essentially critical of the foreign court” or kings, who, like Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, often praise the God of Jews.²⁵

Susan Niditch and Robert Doran respond to Humphreys, while neglecting Humphreys’ point of double loyalty of the postexilic Jewish community. They criticize Humphreys’

²¹ The scholarly interest in the rule of the nations in Daniel goes all the way back to protestant reformers in 15th century C.E. and church fathers of early Christianity. See John G. Gammie, “A Journey through Danielic Spaces: The Book of Daniel in the Theology and Piety of the Christian Community” *Interpretation* 39/2 (1985):144-156.

²² W. Lee Humphreys, “A Life-Style for Diaspora: A Study of the Tales of Esther and Daniel,” *JBL* 92/2 (1973): 211-223.

²³ *Ibid.*, 217.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 216, echoing Shemaryahu Talmon, “‘Wisdom’ in the Book of Esther,” *VT* 13 (1963): 419-455. Arguing that Ester resembles “biblical description of other courts” in the stories of “expatriated Jews” such as Joseph and Daniel who “held office at foreign courts,” Talmon offers a literary analysis of Jewish courtiers and their contest (pp. 434-435).

²⁵ Humphreys, “A Life-Style for Diaspora,” 221.

synchronic “loose collection of shared motifs,” demanding instead a “diachronic” form-critical analysis.²⁶ They apply “Type 922” (Clever Acts and Words) of the Finnish scholarship of folklore (A. Aarne and S. Thompson) to the Jewish stories of Joseph, Daniel, and Ahiqar that display a common “typological patterning” of a set of motifs widely attestable in other tales.²⁷ The result is a purely *formalistic* analysis whose ahistorical overtones are distinctive.²⁸ Their “form-critical analysis” does not touch on how the intended audiences of the Jewish stories express their socio-political attitude to heathen masters.²⁹

In his “form critical and traditio-historical evaluation of biblical texts concerning dreams,”³⁰ Robert Gnuse creatively synthesizes Humphreys’ “tradition-historical”³¹ method and Niditch and Doran’s “form-critical” method.³² Niditch and Doran situate the stories of Joseph and Daniel in context of non-biblical folklore. Gnuse locates the stories in context of dream-

²⁶ Susan Niditch and Robert Doran, “Success Story of the Wise Courtier: A Formalist Approach,” *JBL* 96 (1977): 179-193 (here, p. 179). The method of Niditch and Doran, in which the oral state of a biblical story is considered central, is disputed by Von Harald Martin Wahl, “Das Motiv des ‘Aufstiegs’ in der Hofgeschichte: Am Beispiel von Joseph, Esther und Daniel,” *ZAW* 112 (2000), 70 n.40. Wahl affirms many points made by Humphreys, while not mentioning Humphreys’ work.

²⁷ Niditch and Doran, “Success Story of the Wise Courtier,” 181. Lawrence M. Wills, *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King: Ancient Jewish Court Legends* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), defines the stories of Joseph and Daniel as “court legends” that can be compared to the Egyptian wisdom literature, *Instruction of Onkhsheshonq* (pp. 42-44; 193-196). Similarly, Tawny L. Holm, “Daniel 1-6: A Biblical Story-Collection,” in *Ancient Fiction: The Matrix of Early Christian and Jewish Narrative* (SBLSS 32; ed. Jo-Ann A. Brant et al.; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 161, proposes that the tales of Joseph and Daniel are the “story collection” that resembles ancient Egyptian literature.

²⁸ Niditch and Doran, “Success Story of the Wise Courtier,” 182, n. 11, refers to a work of Vladimir Yakovlevich Propp, who is a renowned proponent of Russian Formalism.

²⁹ In comparing Daniel 2 and Genesis 41, Niditch and Doran use expressions such as “A person of lower status” (a court entourage or bureaucracy) and “A person of higher status” (a famous Babylonian ruler), but only to analyze literary aspects such as plot and character (*Ibid.*, 187-188).

³⁰ Robert Gnuse, “Dreams and Their Theological Significance in the Biblical Tradition,” *CTM* 8 (1981): 166-171 (here, p. 171).

³¹ Humphreys, “A Life-Style for Diaspora,” 211

³² Niditch and Doran, “Success Story of the Wise Courtier,” 187.

reports that are attested in biblical prophets as well as the ancient Near Eastern tradition.³³ On the one hand, following Humphreys' lead, Gnuse finds numerous contact-points between Joseph and Daniel, but, on the other, refines what Humphreys designates "the tale of the courtier." He categorizes the Diaspora stories—a pagan monarch's dream vision and a God-chosen Jewish courtier's interpretation of it (Genesis 41; Daniel 2 and 4)—as the "dream reports of the visual-symbolic type."³⁴ For Humphreys, the Jewish courtiers such as Joseph and Daniel show a social model of the postexilic Jewish Diaspora. For Gnuse, however, what really matters in the Diaspora tales is not social interest in success but rather theology of God's glory. The visual-symbolic dreams function as an ideological vehicle in which to embody "postexilic monotheistic values" in a "form of encouragement for postexilic Jews."³⁵ Gnuse argues that the Jewish courtier's life as double loyalty to the God of Israel and foreign monarchs is in effect designed to articulate the monotheistic ideology of the faithful Jewish community among the nations. The God of Jewish Diaspora is "the God of all people."³⁶ It is "in order to bring divine blessing to all" that Joseph and Daniel cooperate with a government in a foreign land in maintaining social

³³ Gnuse, "Dreams and Their Theological Significance," 167-171. See also idem, "The Jewish Dream Interpreter," 32-42; and, Stefan Beyerle, "Joseph und Daniel: Zwei 'Väter' am Höfe eines fremden Königs," in *Verbindungslinien: Festschrift für Werner H. Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Axel Graupner et al.; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2000), 14-17. Beyerle calls attention to analogy between Mesopotamian dream-interpretations and the tales of Joseph and Daniel, dealing particularly with the Akkadian deities of dream (AN.ZAG.GAR and *Za-qi-qu*), Assyrian Dream Ritual Compendium (I 19, 28, 51; III 41-42), the Haran inscription of King Nabonidus (III 1-4), and an unpublished astronomical text from the British Museum (BM 42294).

³⁴ Gnuse, "The Jewish Dream Interpreter," 36; see also idem, *Dreams and Dream Reports in the Writings of Josephus: A Traditio-Historical Analysis* (AGJU 36; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 86-92, 247-248. Earlier, Redford, *Biblical Story of Joseph*, 90-91, briefly introduces the concept of "symbolical dream," which differs from Gnuse's concept.

³⁵ Gnuse, "The Jewish Dream Interpreter," 30-31.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.

order.³⁷ Gnuse's point of the Jewish monotheism appears to continue Humphreys' main thesis. For both scholars, Diaspora Jews that are mirrored in the tales of Joseph and Daniel were in principle favorable to social accommodation to their foreign masters.

Whereas these all scholars above take Daniel 1-6 to be affirmative about the acculturation to the foreign circumstances, some exegetes accentuate discrepancies rather than affinities.³⁸ Thus they often argue that Daniel evokes Joseph only to propagate the idea of resistance to the imperial domination that opposes the sovereignty of the God of Israel. Generally agreeing with Humphreys that there is strong kinship between the stories of Joseph and Daniel,³⁹ John J. Collins focuses on contrast between the figures. Unlike Joseph, the success of the Jewish heroes in Daniel is wrought not by "any action or skill of their own" but by the "miraculous intervention of God."⁴⁰ Collins follows Humphreys' view that Daniel has two different types of court-tales which suggest a certain "self-identity" of the post-exilic Jewish societies.⁴¹ Unlike Humphreys, however, Collins sees that the type of court conflict is dominant over the type of court contest. For Collins, therefore, it is unlikely that "all such tales have a positive attitude towards the

³⁷ Ibid., 30-31. Later, Gnuse adds his new assessment of the "role of narratives" in Daniel. The Jewish heroes, who are "underdog healer/interpreter" in the court of a foreign king, moderately resist to foreign politics (Robert Gnuse, "From Prison to Prestige: The Hero who Helps a King in Jewish and Greek Literature," *CBQ* 72 [2010]: 44-45).

³⁸ E.g., Bezalel Naor, "Joseph and Daniel: Court Jews and Dreamers," *JBQ* 30/1 (2002): 11-16. Naor argues that while Joseph progresses "from dreamer to interpreter of dreams," Daniel moves "from interpreter of dreams to visionary" (p. 11). The difference demonstrates that Joseph represents the beginning of "*galut mizrayim*" (Egyptian exile) but Daniel symbolizes the returning from "*galut bavel*" (Babylonian exile) to Eretz Yisrael (the Land of Israel) (p. 14). Namely, insofar as they are in captivity under foreign kings, they have no their own dreams but only play an interpreter of dreams of the kings.

³⁹ John J. Collins, "The Court-Tales in Daniel and the Development of Apocalyptic," *JBL* 94/2 (1975), 219; see also idem, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 39-40.

⁴⁰ Collins, "The Court-Tales in Daniel," 225.

⁴¹ Ibid., 219-228 (here, p. 219). Humphreys, "A Life-Style for Diaspora", 212, states that Esther and Daniel suggest a new "theological self-understanding" of Judaism emerging from post-exilic period.

Gentile rulers.”⁴² Collins opines that Humphreys “underestimates the importance of the religious conflict and the denunciation of the Gentile king.”⁴³ Indeed, a closer reading of the tales shows either potential or actualized “conflict” between royal authority and divine authority.⁴⁴ Although Daniel 2-6 affirm the possibility of success of Jewish courtiers at a pagan palace,⁴⁵ their dual allegiance to heathen monarchs as well as the Diaspora Jews is unclear in Daniel. In effect, the court-tales involve “a rejection of the Chaldean religion,” and the superiority of the Jewish God that the tales highlight inexorably leads to “a confrontation with the Gentiles.”⁴⁶

Daniel’s critical stance on the foreign rule over Israel is articulated by Aaron Wildavsky. In his perceptive study of the Joseph story and its reception history, Wildavsky designates Daniel a “satire on Joseph,” seeing that Daniel 1-6 is “a polemic against Joseph’s surrender to foreign ways by indicating, in the person of Daniel, what Joseph ought to have done.”⁴⁷ While Joseph never prays, Daniel never stops his custom of daily praying at the risk of life. Indeed, Daniel as a “parody of Joseph” is delineated in manners sarcastic towards “Joseph’s assimilation to the ways of the Egyptians—their food, their clothing, their names, all of which Daniel rejects.”⁴⁸ This stark contrast between these figures is convincingly argued by Matthew S. Rindge. He focuses especially on the social effect of the contrast. For the Diaspora Jews, Joseph is an “example of

⁴² Collins, “The Court-Tales in Daniel,” 220.

⁴³ Ibid., 218, n. 3.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 224.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 218; and, John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2nd ed; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Pub., 1998), 91.

⁴⁶ Collins, “The Court-Tales in Daniel,” 224, 234.

⁴⁷ Aaron Wildavsky, *Assimilation versus Separation: Joseph the Administrator and the Politics of Religion in Biblical Israel* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1993), 126-129 (here, p. 127).

⁴⁸ Ibid., 129.

extreme assimilation,” whereas Daniel embodies “moderate resistance.”⁴⁹ Why is Daniel’s resistance “moderate”? It is not only because Daniel declines withdrawal (Qumran) or violence (Ester, 1 Maccabees, Exodus),” but also because Daniel “imagines the possibility of a Diaspora Jew simultaneously resisting the empire and succeeding sociopolitically.”⁵⁰

Rindge’s assessment of Daniel as a Jewish model of “moderate resistance” can be justified only insofar as he reads Daniel 2 in separation from most of other chapters in Daniel. The court-tales in Daniel 3 and 6 and the apocalypses in Daniel 7-12 embolden the intended Jewish audiences to withstand imperial power without compromising with it. These chapters imagine no possibilities in which a Diaspora Jew simultaneously entertains resistance to and success in foreign empires. Thus it is groundless that successful Jewish courtiers in Daniel 2 reflect “a general attitude of the Jews over against the pagan world.”⁵¹ As Rindge himself rightly proposes, we need to ask about “effects” that Daniel 2 could have made on Jewish audiences in the Second Temple period.⁵² In doing so, however, we must consider that the narratives in the first half of Daniel, including Daniel 2, were brought together “in days of great tension and crisis to encourage men to stand firm in their loyalty.”⁵³ In understanding Daniel’s ideological position on the empires, one should take into account such an intention of the final editing of Daniel. Namely, the combination of the stories in Daniel 1-6 and visions in Daniel 7-12 were intended to persuade Jewish audiences and readers to “move from a posture of partial accommodation and

⁴⁹ Matthew S. Rindge, “Jewish Identity under Foreign Rule: Daniel 2 as a Reconfiguration of Genesis 41,” *JBL* 129/1 (2010), 95.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁵¹ Norman W. Porteous, *Daniel: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1965), 38.

⁵² Rindge, “Jewish Identity under Foreign Rule,” 99.

⁵³ Porteous, *Daniel*, 38.

collaboration to one of total rejection of Seleucid hegemony and domination.”⁵⁴ It is much safer to say therefore that Daniel as a literary whole personifies resolute resistance, urging to refrain from moderate resistance.⁵⁵

My major purpose in this chapter is to investigate literary allusions in Daniel to Genesis. Through the literary allusions the themes and topics in Genesis are actualized in the new composition of Daniel. I will argue that the author of Daniel designed literary allusions to inspire its Jewish audiences and readers to resist steadfastly to imperialism hostile to the God of Israel. Indeed, Daniel is “all about imperial politics” that the Jewish apocalypse passionately countered.⁵⁶ I will demonstrate how deliberately and strategically Daniel appropriates texts in Genesis to formulate the message of faithful resistance to imperial rule over God’s people. In unveiling the extent to which Daniel alludes to Genesis, I will examine a most exemplary case of literary allusion to Genesis in Daniel: the accounts of Babel in Genesis 10-11.⁵⁷ The stories in Daniel allude persistently to Babel, the primal empire of humankind and its imperial project of construction. Through literary allusions Daniel recycles, expands, or transforms the details of the

⁵⁴ Anatheia Portier-Young, *Apocalypse against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2011), 227. She further states: “The writer(s) who composed Daniel 1-12 ... incorporated familiar tales into a new composition ... to underscore the change in situation and call an end to cooperation and accommodation” (pp. 227-228).

⁵⁵ This resolute resistance Daniel advocates is in nature non-violent as shown in Dan 11:32-35.

⁵⁶ Richard A. Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries, and the Politics of Second Temple Judea* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), 173. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse against Empire*, 223, rightly states that “No book of the Hebrew Bible so plainly engages and opposes the project of empire as Daniel,” echoing Danna Nolan Fewell, *The Children of Israel: Reading the Bible for the Sake of Our Children* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2003), 117, who depicts Daniel as “the Bible’s foremost book of resistance against political domination.”

⁵⁷ Jewish interpreters in the Second Temple period have long taken the Genesis story of Babel as portraying both rebellious human politics and God’s triumph over it. For inner-biblical interpretations of the story, see Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 228-274. For extra-canonical interpretations, see Christoph Uehlinger, *Weltreich und “eine Rede”: Eine neue Deutung der sogenannten Turmbauerzählung* (Gen 11, 1-9) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 35-180; and, Phillip Michael Sherman, “Translating the Tower: Genesis 11 and Ancient Jewish Interpretation” (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 2008), 119-421.

Babel story in Genesis. In doing so, on the one hand, Daniel exposes Israel's social and religious conflict with the ancient imperialism and, on the other hand, highlights the divine sovereignty that characterizes Daniel as literature of resistance to human imperialism.

II. Literary Allusions to Genesis 10-11 in Daniel 1-2

I would like to begin by analyzing the opening section of the book: "In the third year of the reign of King Jehoiakim of Judah, King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon came to Jerusalem and besieged it. The Lord let King Jehoiakim of Judah fall into his power, as well as some of the vessels of the house of God. These he brought to the land of Shinar, and placed the vessels in the treasury of his gods" (Dan 1:1-2). This prologue is a literary vignette that resonates with scriptural records of the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem in 587 BCE.⁵⁸ In Daniel, accentuating the military violence of Nebuchadnezzar against Jerusalem, the prologue provides an exilic setting for the narrative continuum in Daniel 1- 6. The king of Babel is reported to conquer Jerusalem, sack the holy utensils in the temple, and deposit some of them in the treasury of his god. I am concerned with how this poignant prologue of Daniel alludes to the primordial account of Babel in Genesis. According to the account in Gen 11:1-9, postdiluvian people migrate from the east, find a plain in the "land of Shinar," and inhabit the doomed place that will be called "Babel" (Gen 11:2, 9).

⁵⁸ Some elements of Dan 1:1-2 is difficult to be harmonious with other biblical records (e.g., 2 Kings 24, Jeremiah 25, and 2 Chronicles 36). See Collins, *Daniel*, 130-133. It appears that the Danielic portraiture of the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem continues 2 Kgs 24:1 (Jehoiakim's revolt against Nebuchadnezzar after his three years service) and 2 Chron 36:6-7 (Nebuchadnezzar's punishment on Jehoiakim and his pillaging the Jerusalem temple). John E. Goldingay, *Daniel* (WBC 30; Dallas: Word Books, 1989), 14, points out allusive terms such as "reign" (מַלְכוּת) (2 Chr 33:6-7; 35:19; Jer 20:4-5; 39:1; 46:2) and "Shinar" (Gen 11:1-9; Zech:5-11). The main purpose of Dan 1:1-2 is likely to make the exilic Jewish reader alert to how to read the chapter and the rest of the book that highlights the sovereign God who control of the history (C.L. Seow, *Daniel* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003], 21-22).

There they begin to build a city and a tower with its top in the heavens, a symbolic edifice of the human hubris. The grandiose construction project is halted by God's interruption.

A few scholars have observed the allusive atmosphere of the prologue. G.A.F. Knight, for example, remarks that the term Shinar in Dan 1:2 "gives a touch of antiquity as an allusion,"⁵⁹ well echoing James A. Montgomery's view that Shinar is "chosen as denoting the land ... of the tower of Babel, which is the antithesis of the theme of Daniel."⁶⁰ Although their comments on Shinar are pertinent to the prologue, few have attempted to address a more delicate matter such as how it is certain that Shinar invokes the account of the tower of Babel in Genesis and how the prologue of Daniel is interwoven with the texture of the Genesis account. Indeed, such questions are vital to any argument of the use of an early biblical text in Daniel lest it fall into merely personal impression. Once interpreters claim the presence of allusion in Daniel, they are inevitably faced with task of demonstrating the certainty of the presence of allusion. Moreover, after providing evidence of the allusion they must go further to articulate the intended function of the allusion.⁶¹ Any tenable analysis of allusion in Daniel should show how specifically the evoked text written prior to Daniel enriches the reader's understanding of the alluding text in Daniel, and, if necessary, *vice versa*.⁶²

⁵⁹ George A. F. Knight, "The Book of Daniel" in *Interpreter's One Volume Commentary on the Bible* (ed. Charles M. Laymon; Nashville: Abingdon, 1971), 348; Similarly, Lacocque, *Daniel*, 26; and, Daniel L. Smith-Christopher, "The Book of Daniel," in *NIB* 7:39.

⁶⁰ James A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1927), 117.

⁶¹ Wold, *Women, Men, and Angels*, 51, rightly states that "It is the task of those who study literary echo first to identify an echo and, second, to give account of the new figurations generated by them."

⁶² In general, it is the evoked text that influences the reader's interpretation of the alluding text. But, equally possible is the opposite direction of influence. Namely, the alluding text can control the reader's perception of the evoked text. See Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," 114, n. 9.

A. Main Signs of Allusion

To interpret the introductory section of Daniel, I will approach the “land of Shinar” in terms of literary allusion that simultaneously activates two independent texts. The process of activation of allusion starts when the reader recognizes the sign of allusion. Let me clarify a directional marker of the alluding text in Daniel and its marked component of the evoked text in Genesis. The marker and the marked are formally identical: the “land of Shinar” (Gen 10:10; 11:2; Dan 1:2) and “Babylon” (Heb. Babel) (Gen 10:10; 11:9; Dan 1:1):

Chart I: Main Signs of Allusion

The Alluding Text	The Evoked Text	
Dan 1:1-2	Gen 10:8-12	Gen 11:1-9
v. 1 King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon (בָּבֶל) came to Jerusalem and besieged it	vv. 9-10 Nimrod, a mighty hunter before the Lord ... The beginning of his kingdom was Babel (בָּבֶל)	v. 11 Therefore its name was called Babel (בָּבֶל), because there the Lord confused the language of all the earth
v. 2 He brought them to the land of Shinar (אֶרֶץ-שִׁנְעָר), to the house of his god	v. 10 Accad and Calneh, in the land of Shinar (אֶרֶץ שִׁנְעָר)	v. 2 As they migrated from the east, they found a plain in the land of Shinar (אֶרֶץ שִׁנְעָר) and settled there

Strictly speaking, the geographical phraseology the “land of Shinar” *in itself* cannot be taken as an allusion to the story of Babel. Rather, it should be duly defined as *a linguistic sign* that functions either as a directional marker or as a marked component. As I will show in Chart II below, there are a set of signs that the reader is presumed to decode in the prologue. These signs help the reader identify the linkable texts and activate the allusion but must not be confused with the allusion.⁶³ Accordingly, through the sign “land of Shinar” the reader is led to connect the

⁶³ Ben-Porat, “Forms of Intertextuality and the Reading of Poetry,” 258, points out that “a linguistic signal” is “a textual unit” in a given text. The signal is not to be taken as the literary allusion the signal triggers.

alluding text in Daniel and the evoked text in Genesis. Then the reader actualizes the allusion by participating in the formation of meaning-patterns that the interaction between the opening verses of Daniel and the Genesis story of Babel produces.

In addition to our right designation of the sign, the “land of Shinar,” we should not fail to recognize the presence of another sign of allusion in the prologue: the term “Babel.” This additional sign “Babel” works alongside the sign “land of Shinar” to trigger the reader’s memory of “Babel” in Genesis. With these two independent phrases constituting the main sign of allusion, the prologue establishes the link, I submit, with two external referent-texts that address in common the prehistorical Babel: Gen 10:8-12 and Gen 11:1-9. One alluding text in Daniel interacts with two evoked texts in Genesis. Both Genesis texts are in many ways integrated through their common marked elements, becoming a broader referential framework for the opening section of Daniel.⁶⁴

That the prologue evokes two discrete texts in Genesis 10 and Genesis 11 becomes understandable as it is recalled that both chapters “are intentionally placed next to each other”⁶⁵ to explain the division of humanity into the multitude of nations. Although these two evoked texts exist independently of each other, they reciprocally supplement, as will be discussed in detail, a coherent account of Babel in context of postdiluvian history in Genesis. In the alluding text of Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar is introduced as the king of “Babel,” who is homecoming from

⁶⁴ Benjamin Hrushovski, “Fictionality and Fields of Reference: Remarks on a Theoretical Framework,” *PT* 5/2 (1984), 230, explains that a frame of reference is “any semantic continuum of two or more referents.” It can be expressed in the form a character, an ideology, a mood, and a plot.

⁶⁵ Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary* (trans. John H. Marks; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1972), 152. Similarly, Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis: Part II from Noah to Abraham* (trans. Israel Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1964), 141, rightly states that Gen 9:18-11:9 “integrates all its part into one organic whole.” Particularly, the expression, “each with his own languages or by their languages” (Gen 10:5, 20, 31), serves to “draw the attention of the reader to the problem, and to prepare him to peruse with curiosity what is related in the next chapter, which actually begins with a reference to language” (pp. 142-143).

Jerusalem to the “land of Shinar” (Dan 1:1-2). King Nebuchadnezzar is reminiscent of King Nimrod in Genesis 10, who is the founder of “Babel” and other renowned cities in the “land of Shinar” (Gen 10:10). The connection between Nebuchadnezzar and Nimrod is bolstered when another Genesis story explains the origin of Nimrod’s “Babel” in the “land of Shinar” (Gen 11:2, 9). As a result, in the prologue Nebuchadnezzar is linked with Nimrod in Genesis 10 and, at the same time, primeval humans in Genesis 11.

According to the account in Gen 11:1-9, the citizens of Babel build a tower whose top aims to reach heaven, the domain of the divine sovereignty. The gigantic construction encapsulates the combined energies of prehistorical humanity. In broader context of the account the construction of the tower is postdiluvian people’s defiance to God. In blessing Noah’s family after the flood, God orders them to “fill the earth” (Gen 9:1). But the builders at Babel aspire not to be dispersed on the earth (Gen 11:4). Thus they intend to rebel the authority in which God dominates them. Perhaps, they attempt to assault in some way the supernal sphere God rules by making the top of the tower penetrate the heaven. In any event, the human ambition finds no satisfaction. To suppress their revolt, the God in heaven confounds the builders’ common language. As this story of Babel is evoked in and intertwined with the prologue of Daniel, the reader recognizes an interesting analogy. Nebuchadnezzar’s brutal military campaign against Jerusalem is analogous to the architects’ vainglorious venture to storm the realm of the God in heaven.⁶⁶ The allusion operating between Nebuchadnezzar and the builders, therefore, may well be regarded as proleptic. The allusion of prolepsis prepares the reader for the ultimate failure of the monarch’s confrontation with the celestial sovereign.

⁶⁶ Peter W. Coxon, “The Great Tree of Daniel 4,” in *A Word in Season* (ed. James D. Martin and Philip R. Davies; JSOTSup. 42; Sheffield: JSOT press, 1986), 92, perceives a “connection between incident of the tower of Babel and the fall of Jerusalem.”

It is equally significant that the sign in the prologue bridges the prologue to the other external source-text, Gen 10:8-12. There we are given the depiction of an ancient imperial conqueror Nimrod, who, through allusion in the prologue, forebodes the inheritor of his Babel, Nebuchadnezzar. Unfortunately, although the pericope of Nimrod in Genesis offers an essential key to the prologue of Daniel, it has been neglected by scholars. Among others, Gen 10:10 is the oldest biblical text, where “Babel” is introduced as Nimrod’s primal city-state and is associated with the name of “land of Shinar.” The account of Nimrod not only contains the two marked components of the allusion in the prologue of Daniel; the analogy drawn by the allusion between Nimrod and Nebuchadnezzar, too, is integral to the interpretation of the prologue.

Why is it important that the prologue alludes simultaneously to the two independent accounts in Genesis? It is because the double source-text suggests quite strongly that the author of the prologue regards them as producing mutually illuminating comments on a singular event happening in Babel. I define these two markers—“the land of Shinar” and “Babel”—as complex markers that have more than one target text. The functional subtlety of the complex marker is nicely captured in this statement by the literary critic Chana Kronfeld: The complex marker “triggers the activation of more than one discrete evoked text ... or block of texts. As such it can trigger an intertextual activation and mutual modification *not only of the alluding and evoked texts but within among the evoked texts themselves.*”⁶⁷ The actualization-mechanism of the complex marker proves especially pertinent to the allusion in the opening verses of Daniel. The two complex markers, the “land of Shinar” and “Babel,” link the alluding text in Daniel to those two evoked texts in Genesis.

⁶⁷ Kronfeld, “Allusion: An Israeli Perspective,” 152, 154 (italics original); idem, *On the Margins of Modernism*, 132, 134.

The inner-activation within the evoked texts is also remarkable. It emphasizes in sharper terms the conflict between King Nebuchadnezzar and the heavenly sovereign. The one source-text in Genesis 10 characterizes Nimrod as the founding king of a series of ancient great cities, such as Rehobot-Ir and Calah (Gen 10:12).⁶⁸ Likewise, the other source-text in Genesis 11 shows postdiluvian people from the same viewpoint: They aspire to build a great city whose top can reach to the heavens. Consequently, the intertextual activation within the two evoked texts urges the reader to comprehend the account of Babel in Gen 11:1-9 to be an exegetical commentary on Gen 10:10—a terse statement of the establishment of Babel by Nimrod. Put another way, Gen 11:1-9 zeroes in on how Nimrod came to found Babel and why he and his subjects began the tower project but had to leave it incomplete. Furthermore, the fact that Nimrod in Genesis 10 and postdiluvian people in Genesis 11 are both preoccupied with building a great city would lead to a reasonable conclusion that the first monarch of Babel played the leader of the building project of the tower in Babel. In Gen 11:1-9, therefore, “Nimrod and his activities are retrospectively reinforced as rebellious.”⁶⁹ Both evoked accounts—the name of Nimrod’s first kingdom and the ignominious origin of the very name—are mutually supplemental in supplying the vivid portraiture of Nimrod and its primal kingdom, Babel. Then, the portraiture is further interacted with the prologue of Daniel.

⁶⁸ Etymologically, Rehobot-Ir means city-squares or city with squares. The designation refers to Nineveh (Jack M. Sasson, “Rechōvōt ‘îr,” *RB* 90/1 [1983], 96) or the city of Ashur (Arie van der Kooij, “The City of Babel and Assyrian Imperialism: Genesis 11:1-9 Interpreted in the Light of Mesopotamian Sources,” in *Congress Volume Leiden 2004* [VTSup 109; ed. André Lemaire; Brill: Leiden, 2006], 11-12). Nineveh is renowned for its greatness in ancient world. The epithet of Calah, “the great city,” is found in the words of God in Jonah 4:11 (cf. Jonah 1:2; 3:2, 3; *Liv. Pro.* 10:3). Nimrod’s image as enemy of God’s kingdom is harmonious with the fact that both Nineveh and Babylon that he founded become the capitals of the empires that eventually destroy Judah and Israel.

⁶⁹ See Mary Katherine Y. H. Hom, “... A Mighty Hunter before YHWH’: Genesis 10:9 and the Moral-Theological Evaluation of Nimrod,” *VT* 60 (2010): 68. She finds four parallels between the two Babel accounts. Three linguistic parallels (עַל-כֵּן [Gen 10:9; 11:9], הָאָרֶץ [Gen 10:11; 11:1, 4, 8, 9], בְּנֵה [10:11; 11:4, 5, 8]), and one thematic parallel (הָעִיר הַגְּדֹלָה [10:12b] || עִיר וּמְגִדֹּל [11:4]), though some reserve regarding “specific connections” between them (p. 68, note 28).

Before delving into dynamic intertextual patterning among these three correlated texts,⁷⁰ I wish to explain why both periscopes in Genesis should be counted as only source material of the prologue of Daniel. Admittedly, Shinar is a traditional geographical epithet for Babylonia as widely attested in the ancient Near Eastern documents.⁷¹ The term Babel, too, recurs in the Hebrew Bible no fewer than two hundred sixty two times. How then is it assured that these two markers in Daniel refer exclusively to the two tales in Genesis? Let me offer four reasons.

First, those two lexical items shared between the alluding text in Daniel and the evoked texts in Genesis acquire a “qualitative” significance.⁷² The “land of Shinar” is quite a rarely used expression in the Hebrew Bible.⁷³ Thus its occurrence in Dan 1:2 gives prominence to the eyes of the informed reader, who knows its earliest appearances in Genesis (Gen 10:10; 11:2).⁷⁴ Finding that the word “Babel” and its geographical referent-phraseology “land of Shinar” are used together only in the two texts in Genesis and the prologue of Daniel, the informed reader

⁷⁰ Hrushovski, “Theory of the Literary Text and the Structure of Non-Narrative Fiction,” 638, explains that a pattern refers to a link of more than two elements in a text that are either continuous or discontinuous from one another. Thus, the intertextual pattern is provided from and controlled by two independent texts. It is the reader who perceives linkable elements of text and organizes them into a meaningful pattern.

⁷¹ Ran Zadok, “The Origin of the Name Shinar,” *ZA* 74/2 (1984): 240-244.

⁷² Esther Chazon, “The Use of the Bible as a Key to Meaning in Psalm from Qumran,” 95, rightly argues that “rare words or unique expressions” should play a sign for a “qualitative” allusion.

⁷³ The phraseology has four occurrences in the Bible. Two of them occur in Genesis (Gen 10:10; 11:2), and only once in Daniel and Zechariah, respectively. Zech 5:11 presents the “land of Shinar” to be a blasphemous place where a “temple” is built for “Wickedness.” It is obscure that the Zechariah text alludes to the Babel accounts. Nor is it clear that the author of Daniel 1:2 is aware of the Zechariah text. The word, “Shinar” in dissociation with “land” is attested in several texts such as Gen 14:1, 9 (“king of Shinar”), Josh 7:21 (“a robe from Shinar”), and Isa 11:11 (“from Shinar”), all of which do not show any strong interaction with the prologue to Daniel.

⁷⁴ I use here the idea of the informed reader posited by Stanley Fish, “Literature in the Reader: Affective Stylistics,” *NLH* 2/1 (1970), 145: “a real reader ... who does everything within his power to make himself informed.” This informed reader’s reading is bound, especially in case of the ancient Israelites, by the scriptural texts that the reader is informed of. For the idea of the constructed reader in reader response criticism, see R.M. Fowler, “Who is ‘the Reader’ in Reader Response Criticism,” *Semeia* 31 (1985):5-23.

considers some purposeful interrelation between Genesis and Daniel.⁷⁵ Then, in the course of the reader's understanding, the prologue of Daniel and the two texts in Genesis began to interact with each other, mutually and dynamically. The two Genesis texts provide the informed reader with an essential matrix of the meanings that the prologue of Daniel yields.

Secondly, transference of context occurs. Both sign-words ("land of Shinar" and "Babel") bring the original context where they appear in Genesis to the new composition in Daniel. Michael Fishbane seems to be correct in his contention that the archaic imagery of a sacred location such as Eden tends to establish a typological correlation by the "wholesale transfer of spatial imagery from one narrative topos to another."⁷⁶ The same holds true for Babel. Thus a sacrilegious location such as Babel, too, sets up a typological connection, while transferring its prototypical spatial imagery from one text to another text. If Eden represents a "literary residue of an archetypal memory of spatial harmony and divine bounty,"⁷⁷ Babel may well convey a contrary archetypal memory of spatial disharmony and divine wrath.⁷⁸ In Babel humans pursue unlimited power and God frustrates their desire (Gen 10:8-12; 11:1-9). The two referent-texts in Genesis transmit this archetypal spatial imagery of Babel to the target text in Daniel. Once Israel's collective memory of the Genesis imagery of Babel is activated through allusion in the mind of the reader, the author of the prologue sets up a typological connection between

⁷⁵ Alter, *The Pleasure of Reading*, 121-122, rightly points out that "single-word markers," such as a name and a motif, can serve as a marker (p. 121).

⁷⁶ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 368-372, provides a fine argument of what he calls "typologies of a spatial nature" (here, 368); Similarly, Allison, *The New Moses*, 19, correctly states that "[a]n event may be intended to recall another (event) circumstantially like it" (addition mine).

⁷⁷ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 369. Similarly, Coxon, "The Great Tree of Daniel 4," 92, defines the story of Babel in Genesis as the "paradigmatic defeat of Babylon at the beginning of human history."

⁷⁸ Groß, "Weltherrschaft als Gottesherrschaft," 16, states that "Gen 11,1-9 ist demnach freie Geschichtsdarstellung und theologische Geschichtsdeutung, welche die eigentlichen bewegenden Kräfte der Menschheitsgeschichte an einem augenfälligen Urtypus sichtbar werden läßt."

prehistorical Babel and Nebuchadnezzar's Babel. In doing so, the author invites the reader to evaluate Nebuchadnezzar's sacking of God's temple as an analogy with antediluvian people's defiance to God's authority. The reader perceives the return of Babel and expects God's decisive react. The allusion to the accounts of Babel in Genesis, providing the prehistorical matrix for Daniel, shapes the reader's deeper understanding of the history of the fall of Judah by Babel.

Thirdly, the author's consecutive use of the two markers in the prologue reflects the author's awareness of the referent-accounts in Genesis, where the two sign-words appear within close proximity (Gen 10:10; 11:2, 9). As the author introduces Nebuchadnezzar as the "king of Babel," the reader hears of the Genesis expression "Babel" right in the beginning line of Daniel (Dan 1:1). Then in the very next line the author adopts the epithet of Babel, the "land of Shinar," thereby prompting the reader to recollect two texts in Genesis that employ both expressions together (Dan 1:2; Gen 10:10; 11:2, 9). The author's design of successive occurrence of both "Babel and "the land of Shinar" is harmonious with second evidence, thereby demonstrating the author's masterful handling of the source material. As I noted above, it is in the very opening lines of Daniel that the archetypal imagery of Babel is transferred from Genesis to Daniel. This would mean that the author intends the activation of the Genesis story of Babel in the beginning of Daniel to continuously influence the way in which the reader understands the unfolding story beyond the prologue. In other words, the reader's recollection of the Genesis Babel keeps the reader alert to the Genesis Babel-related doom hovering over the episodes in Daniel, wherever King Nebuchadnezzar of Babel stands against the divine sovereign of the heavens. Therefore, the allusion in the prologue to the records of Babel in Genesis serves to prepare the reader for the subsequent narrative sections, particularly those in the first half of Daniel.

Fourthly and finally, the ideological correspondences between the source material and the target text bolster the existence of allusion that works between both texts. Once the reader

recognizes the two shared lexical items as the main sign of the literary allusion, s/he proceeds to unveil ideological correspondences by linking relevant components from two individual *contexts* to which the marker in Daniel and the marked in Genesis belong, respectively. By doing so, the reader reconstructs a pair of thematic patterns from discontinuous elements dispersed throughout the contexts.⁷⁹ The more securely the reader recognizes the source text that the target text utilizes, the more easily s/he reconstructs the pattern on the basis of ideological parallels between both texts. This sort of conceptual resonances leads the reader to discover supplemental signs of the allusion. These supplemental signs are related in one or another way to the main signs, the “land of Shinar” and “Babel.”⁸⁰ Both kinds of signs constitute the *accumulative* evidence of the literary allusion, thereby demonstrating powerfully the author’s deliberate design of it.

B. Supplemental Signs of Allusion

The function of the supplemental signs of allusion turns our attention back to the fuller actualization of the two evoked-texts in the alluding text. In this stage of actualization the reader attains a larger perspective of how the source text in Genesis enriches the reader’s interpretation of adoptive text in Daniel. Let me exhibit the supplemental signs in my Chart II as follows:

Chart II: Supplemental Signs of Allusion		
The Alluding Text	The Evoked Text	
Dan 1:1-2	Gen 10:8-12	Gen 11:1-9
v. 1 In the third year of the reign (מְלָכוּת) of King Jehoiakim of Judah Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon (בָּבֶל)	v. 10 The beginning of his kingdom (מְלָכוּתוֹ) was Babel (בָּבֶל)	

⁷⁹ Ben-Porat, “The Poetics of Allusion,” 5, explains that “[t]he marker of a literary allusion may be a linguistic unit, but it also be a metrical or a syntactical pattern, or a pattern reconstructed by the reader from discontinuous elements dispersed throughout the text.”

⁸⁰ On the main/supplementary sign, see Ben-Porat, “The Poetics of Allusion,” 171.

vv. 1-2 Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came (בָּא) to Jerusalem ... he brought (וַיְבִיאֵם) them to the land of Shinar ... he brought (הֵבִיא) the vessels	vv. 5, 7 The Lord came down (וַיֵּרֶד) to see the city and the tower ... let us go down (נִרְדָּה)
	vv. 11-12 He built (וַיִּבֶן) ... Rehoboth-Ir (עִיר), Calah ... that is the great city (עִיר) v. 4 Let us build (נִבְנֶה) ourselves a city (עִיר) and a tower with its top in the heavens

As the alluding text in Daniel directs our attention to the evoked text in Gen 10:8-12, we find that a pair of Hebrew cognates functions as a sign: “reign” as a marker and “kingdom” as a marked. The activation of both texts entails a keen contrast between the transience of Judah and the prosperity of Babel.⁸¹ A text is one unified world where the reader reconstructs a pattern by linking textual elements.⁸² In the prologue in Dan 1:2-2 we can reconstruct a semantic pattern: “Jehoiakim’s ‘reign’ (מְלֻכוֹת) of Judah *is ended* only in three years by Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon.” Then the reconstructed semantic pattern from the prologue is linked with another semantic pattern available from the reconstructed world of the alluding text in Gen 10:8-12: “Nimrod’s reign of his ‘kingdom’ (מְמַלְכָּה) only *begins* from Babel and increasingly flourishes.” This pair of intertextual patterns that the reader reconstructs finally reveals the contrast between Babel’s enduring prosperity and Judah’s futile perdition.

⁸¹ Klaus Koch, *Daniel* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2005), 36, nicely points out that through the editor’s deliberate use of “מְלֻכוֹת” and “מֶלֶךְ” in Dan 1:2 the Jewish reader perceived undeniable transition of kingship from Judah to Babylon.

⁸² Hrushovski, “An Outline of Integrational Semantics,” 78-79, two levels of textual patterning: “the Level of the Text-Continuum and the Reconstructed Level. On the latter level we link up and rearrange discontinuous elements in a text, according to their inherent logic: time—in a chronological order, person—in a psychological structure, and so on.” I refer here to the latter level that tends to uncover a network of relationships such as *oppositions* and point of view.

This finding of the contrast explains why the conceptual resonance is necessary in the reader's interpretation of the prologue. The prologue in itself informs the reader that Jerusalem falls down by King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon. The reader may understand the point the prologue makes without activating the allusion. However, only after the prologue is linked through allusion with the Genesis record of Nimrod does the reader come to realize that the destruction of Jerusalem has a deeper dimension to the primordial history of Babel. In Genesis Nimrod is a political hero of excessive obsession with dominion. The allusion to Genesis 10 makes the reader see King Nimrod as the prototype of King Nebuchadnezzar. Only through the allusion can the reader align Nebuchadnezzar's imperialistic conquest of Jerusalem in Daniel with Nimrod's expansionistic prowess in Genesis. Only by activating the allusion to Genesis can the reader proceed to interpret the Babylonian destruction of the city of God to be sacrificed by humankind's insatiable craving for political hegemony.

Moreover, through the allusion to Genesis, the author of the prologue implies the author's interpretation of Nimrod. The author views that in his primal kingdom Nimrod directs the construction of the tower and then expands his domination in the land of Shinar to Assyria (Gen 10:10-11).⁸³ The author's interpretation of Nimrod is well consonant with numerous ancient Jewish documents that attribute the tower of Babel to Nimrod and connect the stories of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel with the accounts of Nimrod in Genesis.⁸⁴ Through the inner-

⁸³ So Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 230, asserts that "The fact that this passage not only mentions Shinar but says that the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom was Babel, seemed indisputably to connect Nimrod with the building project."

⁸⁴ E.g., Philo, Pseudo-Philo, Josephus, Jerome, Augustine of Hippo, Ephrem the Syrian, Ishodad of Merv, rabbinic authors of Targums, Tibat Marqa, and Pirquei deR. Eliezer. See Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 230-232; Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews Vol. I* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909), 177-181; and K. van der Toorn and P. W. van der Horst, "Nimrod before and after the Bible," *HTR* 83/1 (1990):1-29 (esp. pp. 16-24).

activation within the double source text in Genesis, the reader understands that Nimrod's prototypical imperialism in Genesis 10 and his commitment to the building project at Babel in Genesis 11 are inextricably connected to yield a negative perspective of Nimrod. Then, through the inter-literary allusion at work between the alluding text about Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 1 and the evoked texts about Nimrod in Genesis 10-11, the negative perspective of Nimrod provides the reader with an evaluating perspective of the military violence that Nebuchadnezzar levels against Jerusalem. That is to say, our author signals that Nebuchadnezzar's destroying the Jerusalem temple is none other than a recurrence of Nimrod's desire to dominate even the realm of the God in heaven. Like his predecessor, Nebuchadnezzar rules in a wide range of territory. In Genesis God does not sanction Nimrod's illegitimate ambition. Again, God will crush the rebellion of Nebuchadnezzar. In this regard, the allusion in the opening section of Daniel to Genesis hinges on the author's typological perspective of the two monarchs in control of Babel.

The author's evaluating perspective becomes clearer when it is observed that Nimrod in Genesis foreshadows in many ways Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel. In the prologue the "land of Shinar" refers to the temple site of the god of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan 1:2). The "treasury of his god" symbolizes the tyrant's demonstration of his triumph over the God of Israel (Dan 1:2). At the same time, the "land of Shinar" considerably diminishes the meaning of Nebuchadnezzar's success, while referring the reader to the first kingdom of Nimrod. The Genesis hero tried to extend his kingship to the domain of God but was "forced to abandon Babel because God had frustrated his plans there."⁸⁵ As the allusion in the prologue activates the doom of Nimrod in

⁸⁵ Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 230.

Genesis, the prologue becomes critical of politics and religion of Babel.⁸⁶ God's judgment on Babel and the skyscraper adumbrates Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Jerusalem and the temple.

The analogy between Nimrod and Nebuchadnezzar is further confirmed by the Genesis motif of the conflict between God and Babel. Like the allusion in the prologue to Nimrod in Genesis 10, the allusion in the prologue to Nimrod's Babel in Genesis 11 characterizes Nebuchadnezzar as blasphemer. The interaction between Gen 11:1-9 and Dan 1:1-2 makes the reader discern the veiled bitter clash between God and Nebuchadnezzar. The pattern from the alluding text, "Nebuchadnezzar acts against Jerusalem," is most likely to motivate the reader to create a counter pattern from the evoked text, "The Lord acts against Babel." These two intertextual patterns imply that the primeval clash between God and humankind, previously happened between God and Nimrod in the land of Shinar, enters its second round now between God and Nebuchadnezzar in the land of Judah. Nimrod leads his citizens to erect the tower whose top reaches up to God's heavenly realm. God completely rebuffs them. They are forced to abandon the building project and are scattered over the face of all the earth (Gen 11:9). According to the opening section of Daniel, however, God wins only the first round. There the human assault on the divine domain is still on the move in Daniel. Nebuchadnezzar succeeds in making inroads into God's house in Jerusalem. In the light of allusion the Babylonian destruction of the Jerusalem temple could have interpreted by the Jewish reader of Daniel as a counterattack that humans carry out on the God in heaven. This point is nicely expressed in the contrast between God's action in the evoked text and Nebuchadnezzar's reaction in the alluding text. As shown in Chart II above, in Genesis God's act of "coming down" to the "city" repeatedly

⁸⁶ The Genesis account of Babel levels a political criticism at Babel and its temple of Marduk. See E.A. Speiser, *Genesis* (New York: Doubleday, 1964), 74; and, Nahum M. Sarna, *Understanding Genesis* (New York: Schocken, 1970), 76.

emphasize the fact that the divinity preempts humans from completing the building project (Gen 11:4-7). In Daniel three different forms of one Hebrew verb (בָּנָה) articulate Nebuchadnezzar's counteraction against God. Revolting against the sovereign God, the king of Babel leads the military campaign against Jerusalem and brutally pillages the "temple" of God to embellish the "temple" of his god (Dan 1:1-2).⁸⁷ Successfully, the king assaults God's favor for Israel, the God-chosen people who stand in stark contrast to humankind in Babel and, more poignantly, exiles God's power to Babel where God formerly prevails over humankind.⁸⁸

C. Maximum Activation of Allusion

1. The Genesis God-Babel Clash in Daniel 1

Based on my observation of all the signs of allusion, I would like to examine the extent to which the author of Daniel 1 revives the Genesis conflict between God and humankind in Babel. I will focus on how the author transforms motif of universal language in Babel in such a way as to emphasize the divine sovereignty. By doing so I will discuss how allusions to Genesis in Daniel paints God as defeating Nebuchadnezzar and his imperialism.

Indeed, the analogy between Nimrod and Nebuchadnezzar is central to our interpretation of allusion in Daniel 1 to Genesis 11-12. Notice how the contrast established by the allusion in Daniel to Genesis proceeds to depict the dramatic turning of the tide of the clash between God and humans in primeval Babel. In consolidating human collective power, Nimrod and his

⁸⁷ Heb. בֵּית (house).

⁸⁸ Zainab Bahrani, "Assault and Abduction: The Fate of the Royal Image in the Ancient Near East," *AH* 18/3 (1995): 363-382 (esp. 377-380); and, idem, *The Graven Image: Representation in Babylonia and Assyria* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 174-181. See also Portier-Young, *Apocalypse against Empire*, 150-155 (esp. 151). On Daniel's emphasis on Nebuchadnezzar's spoiling the whole cultic system of the Jerusalem temple, see Vogel, *The Cultic Motif in the Book of Daniel*, 51-56, 72-78. As Koch, *Daniel*, 36, points out, in the prologue the editor intends to situate the details of the Babylonian sacking of temple in the unfolding story.

subjects attempted to expand it from their earthly domain to God's heavenly realm. The Babelites wished to erect a tower and manifest their great "name" through the gargantuan building (Gen 11:4). It is likely that they aspired ultimately to blur the boundaries between the divine and the human. However, God subdues the rebellion, and Nebuchadnezzar counters the deity. The Israelites built the Jerusalem temple, which in Daniel is a building inexorably associated with the divine "name" (Dan 9: 17-19; cf. Deut 12:5, 11; 1 Kgs 9:3). When Nebuchadnezzar razes the sacred building of God, the monarch seems to avenge God's intervention of the tower-building.⁸⁹ The Jewish reader could have found the monarch trying to cancel God's grace for the Israelites, recalling that, unlike the Babelites, God allows the Israelites to transcend the boundaries through the cult in the Jerusalem temple. The inviolate division between the divine and the human can be said to be blurred when the covenantal union between God and the Israelites is preserved through the Jerusalem cult.⁹⁰ The monarch wishes to bring to an end Israel's "worship" of and her "communication" with the God in heaven,⁹¹ while transferring the sacred vessels of God's "house" to his god's "house" (Dan 1:2).⁹² Therefore, it is such an intimate relation between the God in heaven and Israel on the earth that Nebuchadnezzar sabotages in his invasion of Jerusalem.

⁸⁹ Jean Steinmann, *Daniel: Texte français, Introduction et Commentaires* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1961), 63, aptly notes that the author views Nebuchadnezzar's burning the Jerusalem temple as the monarch's vengeance on God's previous defeat of Babel.

⁹⁰ In Daniel, therefore, the restoration of Israel is expressed in the restoration of the covenantal relationship between God and Israel: The Jerusalem cult previously devastated by Antiochus is declared to be ended forever (Cf. Dan 8:12-14).

⁹¹ Koch, *Daniel*, 34-36 (here, p. 35); Vogel, *The Cultic Motif in the Book of Daniel*, 69-72.

⁹² Deryck C.T. Sheriffs, "A Tale of Two Cities': Nationalism in Zion and Babylon," *TynBul* 39/1 (1988), 42, n.54, points out the contrast between the two opposing "houses" (בֵּית).

That Nebuchadnezzar reenacts Nimrod's rebellion against the divine sovereignty finds expression in the clash between Nebuchadnezzar and God. The clash looms larger from two different names that are inextricably related to the two cities: Babel and Jerusalem.⁹³ Babel is a city-state symbolic for the name of the architects. In Genesis they determine to erect the city, saying, "Let us make a name for ourselves (נַעֲשֶׂה-לָּנוּ שֵׁם)" (Gen 11:4). By contrast, Jerusalem is the holy city representative of the name of the God in heaven. In Daniel it is Israel's God who "made a name for God" (פָּעַל-לֵךְ שֵׁם) (Dan 9:15).⁹⁴ The contrast that the allusion in Daniel to Genesis draws between the two ancient cities is quite poignant. While Babel the human city is eagerly planned and energetically built in Genesis, Jerusalem the divine city is mercilessly demolished and bitterly commemorated in Daniel. Notice that the expression "your name" in Daniel 9 vividly echoes the expression "name for ourselves" in Genesis 11. Daniel laments over Jerusalem, praying, "O my God, open your eyes and look at our desolation and the city that is called by your name (שְׁמֶךָ) ... your city and your people are called by your name (שְׁמֶךָ)" (Dan 9:18-19). The prayer harks back to the prologue, clarifying that what the Babylonian king ruined in Jerusalem is not only Jerusalem. It is repeatedly stressed that the name of God is also

⁹³ Hammer, *The Book of Daniel*, 18, states that Nebuchadnezzar is "the type of all opponents of the divine city" (p. 18). Sheriffs, "A Tale of Two Cities': Nationalism in Zion and Babylon," 42, finds Daniel's depiction of the destruction of Jerusalem makes a polemic against the Babylonian nationalism. The literary tradition of Jerusalem versus Babel is continued in Revelation. See Richard Bauckham, "The Economic Critique of Rome in Revelation 18," in *Images of Empire* (ed. Loveday Alexander; JSOTSup. 122; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 47-90 (esp. 47-58); Barbara R. Rossing, "City Visions, Feminine Figures and Economic Critique: A Sapiential *Topos* in the Apocalypse," in *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism* (ed. Benjamin G. Wright III and Lawrence M. Wills; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 181-196 (esp. 190-196); and see Andreas Hock, "From Babel to the New Jerusalem (Gen 11,1-9 and Rev 21,1-22,5)," *Biblica* 89 (2008): 109-118.

⁹⁴ Lit. "You made a name for yourself." In the Hebrew Bible it is not a human being but always God who makes a name either for God (e.g., Isa 63:12, 14; Jer 32:20; Neh 9:10) or for God's chosen people (e.g., Gen 12:2; 2 Sam 7:9; 8:13); The Jerusalem temple plays the role of the glorious seat of the name of God (e.g., 1 Kgs 8:29; 2 Kgs 23:27; 2 Chr 6:6, 20). Daniel continues this tradition of the divine name, alluding strategically to the Babel account in Genesis.

disgraced together with the city. Thus Nebuchadnezzar, the descendent of those primordial fame-seekers in Babel, is revealed as reversing the former situation, in which God undercuts their unacceptable craving for the name. As if vindicating his ancestors whose desire for fame was rejected by God, Nebuchadnezzar defiles the deity's name that Jerusalem represents.

The conflict between God and Nebuchadnezzar in the prologue anticipates the theme of the sovereignty of Israel's God in the ensuing narrative in Daniel 1. There the conflict between God and the Babelites (Nimrod, the tower-builders, and their heir Nebuchadnezzar) is in an elegant manner articulated. To observe the development of the conflict, we need to pay attention to the intertextual patterns that are fashioned through allusion working between Genesis and Daniel. The intertextual patterns are made when the reader reconstructs them from textual elements that are often discontinuous to the directional marker or the marked element. Put differently, in Daniel 1 the literary allusion activates Genesis and Daniel even when the formal indications of the marker and the marked in themselves provide no direct clues as to what components of the source text in Genesis can be aligned interpretively with the target text in Daniel. In this stage of activation of allusion, accordingly, the sign of the literary allusion becomes more conceptual than linguistic. Persistently moving between the source text and the target text, the reader achieves the maximal integration of their semantic potentialities.⁹⁵ I wish to focus on how the allusion in Daniel 1 to the Babel accounts lays bare the insubordinate nature of Nebuchadnezzar's imperialistic project to make people of God citizens of Babel.

⁹⁵ Here the reader pursues an ideal maximal meaning of a text, in which allusion is embedded. The reader proceeds to explore "all possible interconnected constructions of meaning" and "a maximal functionality of all elements" in a text. This means that an intertextual interaction occurs in "a maximal degree of organization and linking of details, according to which each detail gets its meaning from its contextual ties." See Ben-Porat and Hrushovski, *Structuralist Poetics in Israel*, 15, 41; and, Hrushovski, "Theory of the Literary Text and the Structure of Non-Narrative Fiction," 637.

King Nebuchadnezzar commands some of the Jewish royalty and the nobility, among whom Daniel and his companions are counted, to learn “language” (לְשׁוֹן) of the Babylonians (Dan 1:3-4).⁹⁶ The monarch seeks to set up an empire that resembles Nimrod’s Babel, where a common language was current among all the citizens. Nebuchadnezzar’s enforcement of the single language reflects his imperialistic ideology.⁹⁷ The despot knows that, in order to attain a greater political leadership, he needs one common language in which to bind all the members of his empire together. His strategic policy of language may well prompt the reader to recollect an exactly opposed divine sentiment in Gen 11:6, where God worries that humans in Babel have “one language” (שָׁפָה אֶחָת). C.L. Seow well explains the covert motive of the tyrant:

“[T]he deity descended from heaven to punish them for their sinful arrogance and, in consequence, humanity was scattered and people no longer spoke one common language as before. Now, however, Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon ... is trying to show God up ... The king of Babel even tries to reverse the consequences of God’s judgment at Babel by imposing a common language on one and all (v. 4). God had willed the dispersion of people from Babel, according to Genesis 11, but Nebuchadnezzar would have them learn the language of Babylon (Babel).”⁹⁸

True, the recollection of the divine anxiety for the universal language brings the reader to the recognition of the wicked undercurrents running through Nebuchadnezzar’s imperialistic treatment of the Jewish captives. Nebuchadnezzar prevent prevents not only diversities of language but also different identities. Thus the tyrant’s chief officer changes their Hebrew names

⁹⁶ Heb. כַּשְׁדִּים (the Chaldeans). Elsewhere in the Jewish Bible the term refers to the people dominated by Nebuchadnezzar (E.g., 2 Kgs 24:2; Jer 37:10; Ezek 23:23; Isa 13:19).

⁹⁷ It has been widely examined that the ancient Near Eastern empires advocated “one language” as a major tool of domination. See Uehlinger, *Weltreich und “eine Rede,”* 445-491; and, Kooij, “The City of Babel and Assyrian Imperialism,” 8-11.

⁹⁸ Seow, *Daniel*, 23.

to Babylonian ones (Dan 1:7), compelling them to be absorbed as Babylonians.⁹⁹ The significance resides in the fact that the three men's names are not only theophoric but also contain a faithful statement of their complete reliance on only one God: Daniel (El is my judge), Hananiah (Yah has been gracious), Mishael (Who is what El is?), Azariah (Yah has helped). Unsurprisingly, imposing new names on them, Nebuchadnezzar enforces the shift of their loyalty from their God to their king and the king's gods: Belteshazzar (Protect his life!), Shadrach (command of Aku), Meshach (who is what Aku is?), Abednego (servant of Nabû).¹⁰⁰ Apparently, the Israelite monotheism championed by their names stands in stark contrast with the Babylonian polytheism in which the imperial members adore multiple deities (e.g., Aku and Nego/Nabu) and their surrogate king (Nebuchadnezzar).¹⁰¹ In re-naming the devout Jews, therefore, what the monarch intends is to eliminate their *religious* identity. For he regards their monotheistic fidelity as threatening the solidarity of the Babylonian Empire built on polytheism.

⁹⁹ On the act of renaming as imperial politics, see Philip P. Chia, "On Naming the Subject: Postcolonial Reading of Daniel 1," in *The Postcolonial Biblical Reader* (ed. Rasiah S. Sugirtharajah; Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 171-184.

¹⁰⁰ The exact meanings of their Babylonian names still remain difficult. Belteshazzar is likely to derive from Akkadian, *balatsu-ušur*, which bears a Babylonian divine name, Bel (cf. Dan 4:8). Its supposed meaning ("Protect his life!") takes the form of a prayer for King Nebuchadnezzar. Barr, "Daniel," 519, explains that "In the name Abed-Nego the latter part may well be the divine name, Nebo (Nabu) distorted, perhaps intentionally ... Shadrach stands for Marduk ... Meshach stands for Sheshach (cipher for Babylon, Jer 25:26)"; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 6, holds that "the difficulty seems to reflect deliberate corruption to heighten the gross paganism of foreign theophoric names which replaced the Israelite theophoric ones."

¹⁰¹ In *Enuma Elish* 5:129 Marduk makes Babylon as "home of the great gods" and "the center of religion" (Stephanie Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh and Others* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989], 259). Marduk's temple at Babel has seats for the multiple deities: Lugaldimmerankia, Anu, Enlil, Ea, Shamash, Ninurta, Nabû, Zarpanîtum/Bêltiya, Nanāy, and Aya. See A.R. George, "E-Sangil and E-Temen-Anki, the Archetypal Cult-Centre," in *Babylon: Focus mesopotamischer Geschichte, Wiege früher Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in der Moderne. 2. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 24-26, März 1998 in Berlin* (ed. Johannes Renger; Saarbrücken: Druckerei und Verlag, 1999), 67-86 (esp. 73-76).

Moreover, Nebuchadnezzar's alteration of the names of the four Judeans turns out to be a deliberate act of exerting his imperial power over the authority of their God—the author of the Jewish monotheism. When the tyrant forbids difference in religious faith, he is specifically concerned with Jewish faith. In effect, he deliberately conducts himself as if he knows well the Jewish deity's deep concern about the human autonomy. Observing the architects engrossed in the building project at Babel, God regards the autonomy of humankind as dangerously powerful: “Look, they are ‘one people’ (עַם אֶחָד) and they have all one language ... nothing they purpose to do will be impossible” (Gen 11:6). In the divine speech, it is likely that “there is the fear that people could become like God.”¹⁰² Our recognition of the divine sentiment leads us to see through the intention of Nebuchadnezzar. The monarch wants to restore the once-infinite human power in Nimrod's Babel, where the human potentials made even the God in heaven uneasy.

How then will the celestial sovereign cope with a bold challenge of this new leader of Babel? In Babel of Nimrod God attains a triumph through confounding the universal language (Gen 11:7). By doing so God succeeds both in keeping them from communicating with one another and in forestalling things they propose to do. The nostalgia of Nebuchadnezzar for Babel of old, too, is completely thwarted by God in Daniel. It is noteworthy that, in dealing with the monarch, God is not so much antagonistic against the language of Babel as God was before. The deity does no harm to the language itself. Rather, God supports God's people in their learning it. Moreover, when compared to the story of Babel in Genesis, God's assistance for their acquisition

¹⁰² Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1-11* (trans. John J. Scullion S.J.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 551. Prior to the tower-builders at Babel, the similar anxiety of God about humankind's becoming like God is already attested in Adam at Eden: “Behold, the man has become like one of us, knowing good and bad ...” (Gen 3:22). In the Hebrew Bible the absolute power, through which nothing humankind purposes to do will be impossible, is belonging to God alone, as recognized in the speech of Job: “I know that you can do all things and that no purpose of yours can be thwarted” (Job 42:2). On this parallel between Job 42:2 and Gen 11:6 and its theological implication, see, *Ibid.*, 551-552.

of the language of Babel is remarkable. In Babel of old God mixed up the language of people, so that they could not understand one another's speech (Gen 11:7). But here, in Nebuchadnezzar's Babel, God does not prevent the mutual communication of people. God actively fosters it for God's people. The monarch has Daniel and his friends undergo a period of royal training. In the course of the training, the Jewish youths decline the royal rations of food and wine, presumably when other Jewish and foreign competitors do not so. The divine reward to those devoted Jews is said to be "knowledge and discernment," in which they come to be versed in "every aspect of writing"¹⁰³ (Dan 1:17). Besides their great success in *written* Babylonian, they display unrivalled skills in *spoken* Babylonian as well. Thus when the monarch "spoke with them" and "questioned them," they demonstrate their divinely given "wisdom and understanding" in every matter and are found peerless in the whole empire of Babylon (Dan 1:19, 20).¹⁰⁴

Does this all imply that God approves Nebuchadnezzar's aspiration for the imperial power that Nimrod's Babel previously enjoyed? Is God nonchalant about Nebuchadnezzar's confrontation with God's authority over humankind? The answer is quite negative. Again, God renders the intractable despot into the total control of God's domination. Evoking Babel of old, the divinity drives the members of Babylon into the state of irresistible total confusion. God does not disrupt the language in which they communicate one another. Rather, God defeats Nebuchadnezzar and his staff by qualifying God's human agent who can communicate with God. The point is prepared in Daniel 1 where Daniel is portrayed as the only one who understands

¹⁰³ Heb. בְּכָל-סֵפֶר. OG Dan 1:17, ἐν πάσῃ γραμματικῇ τέχνῃ (in every aspect of grammar).

¹⁰⁴ The Danielic view that the language of the Babylonian empire has two aspects, that is, verbal/oral and written/scrabal, is congruous with the Targumic view that God confuses the two aspects of the language in Babel: "The Memra of the Lord was revealed against the city, and with it seventy angels corresponding to seventy nations, each having the 'language' (לִישָׁן) of his people and the 'characters of its writing' (רושם כתבִּיה) in his hand" (Tg. Ps.-J. Gen 11:8).

“dreams” (Dan 1:17). Then the point is further shaped in Daniel 2 where the “dreams” Daniel interprets are re-identified as “mystery” (רִזְּ)—God’s special means of conveying God’s secret message to which no one gains access except Daniel (Dan 2:27-30).¹⁰⁵ God reveals the mystery to Daniel so that “the interpretation” (פְּשָׁרָא) may be made known to Nebuchadnezzar (Dan 2:30). As Daniel interprets the mystery, the interpretation God communicates to Daniel turns out to be the divinely-set fall of the Babylonian Empire (Dan 2:39).

In Daniel 5, where God in actuality exterminates the Babel-originated regime, the motif of God’s mystery as God’s secret message to the king of Babel significantly recurs. God communicates the divine message to King Belshazzar, shifting the medium from the nocturnal dreams to the wall composition. Fascinating is that both Nebuchadnezzar’s dreams and the writing Belshazzar sees on the wall of his palace all represent the channel of the “divine communication to these monarchs” of Babel.¹⁰⁶ Belshazzar gives a lavish banquet, directs to be brought the holy vessels that Nebuchadnezzar has sacked from the Jerusalem Temple, and drinks from them with all his guests (Dan 5:1-3). Then the monarch and the imperial nobles praise their gods of “gold,” “silver,” “copper,” “iron,” and “stone,” which all are reminiscences of both the constituents of the great statue and the shattering stone of the statue in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream (Dan 2:31-35; 45; 5:4, 23). Suddenly, the fingers of a disembodied human hand appear on the wall in front of the lamp-stand and inscribe the divine message on it. As in Daniel 2, neither the Babylonian king nor imperial counselors understand the message of God, except for Daniel the divinely-chosen interpreter. Daniel reads to Belshazzar the divine writing and informs him of

¹⁰⁵ The motif of divinely chosen dream-interpreter recurs in Daniel 4. There Nebuchadnezzar has another dream. Again, none of his wise men informs him of its interpretation. Only Daniel interprets the dream to be the decree of the Most High (cf. Dan 4:7-9, 21).

¹⁰⁶ F.F. Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts* (London: The Tyndale Press, 1960), 9.

“the interpretation” which is how God will bring the Babylonian empire to an end (Dan 5:17; 26, 28). God fulfills the written message against Babel through the king’s death by murder. Babel of rebels ends with the victory of the power of divine language.¹⁰⁷

2. Language in Genesis and Dream in Daniel 1-2

The motif of the common language of Babel in Daniel 1 is intensified in Daniel 2. If Daniel 1 initiates the motif of universal language, Daniel 2 elaborates on the motif against the backdrop of the Babel story in Genesis. I will investigate how allusions in Daniel 2 to Genesis 10-11 activate the motif of universal language in Babel to highlight God’s sovereignty over human imperialism.

As the court-narrative unfolds in the two chapters, Daniel’s exceptional competence in interpreting dreams serves to demonstrate God’s sovereignty over Nebuchadnezzar’s imperialism. The tale begins with the monarch’s report of his dream that severely troubles his spirit (Dan 2:1, 3). He summons all professional experts of the empire: the magicians, the enchanters, the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans (Dan 2:2). Nebuchadnezzar presses three questions and they answer him three times. The well-structured conversation does not go easily. The disturbed monarch orders them to inform him not only of the interpretation of the dream but also of the dream itself (Dan 2:5, 6). The sages fail to satisfy the arbitrary king. The urgent conference ends up with the tyrant’s furious decree to execute all the royal consultants. Their unhappy conversation prompts the entrance of Daniel on the stage, who “understands all visions and dreams” (Dan 1:17).

¹⁰⁷ Michael Hilton, “Babel Reversed—Daniel Chapter 5,” *JSOT* 66 (1995), 107, rightly argues that “As Babylon was born in misunderstanding and confusion of languages, so it ends in the same way. As God intervened directly at the start of Babylon’s history, so he intervenes again at its end.”

Why does Nebuchadnezzar entertain a craving for the meaning of his dream? Presumably because the monarch perceives that the dream conveys the divine message concerning the political future of Babel. According to Daniel, one night on his bed, Nebuchadnezzar comes to be caught with the “thought” about “what will happen in the future” (Dan 2:29a). Of what future does the monarch think? In Daniel 1 Nebuchadnezzar is described as administering an imperial project to consolidate Babel. He abducts gifted Jewish youths, confines their language, and changes their identity. Implementing a systematic plan that he designs to train them, the monarch selects only fit brains for higher positions of the empire. If this ambitious and scrupulous monarch of Babel dwells on what lies ahead, it would be because he is anxious for the prosperity of the empire. This point is well affirmed when Daniel interprets the dream to be God’s response to the monarch’s anxiety. When the monarch is concerned with the future of Babel, God informs him of “what will happen” (Dan 2:29b). The future of Babel belongs to “secrets” that “the God in heaven” alone can reveal (Dan 2:28a). To reveal the “secrets” to Nebuchadnezzar, God adopts dreams as a medium of communication between the deity and the monarch.¹⁰⁸ Daniel identifies the divinely-given dream of the monarch as “visions of his consciousness” (חֲזוֹנֵי רֹאשׁוֹ) and “thoughts of his mind” (רַעְיוֹנֵי לִבּוֹ) (Dan 2:28b, 30). God makes known to him “what will happen at the end of days,” giving him “visions of his consciousness” (Dan 2:28b). The purpose of God is to elicit Nebuchadnezzar’s acknowledgement that his lust for prosperity of Babel is purely futile. Thus God discloses to him the doom of Babel through the nocturnal dream vision, and then, the God-chosen dream interpreter has Nebuchadnezzar understand the “interpretation”

¹⁰⁸ On dream as God’s vehicle for revelation in Daniel, see Gnuse, “Dreams and their Theological Significance,” 169-171; and idem, “The Jewish Dream Interpreter in a Foreign Court,” 34-42.

of “thoughts of his mind” (Dan 2:30). At length, the tyrant of Babel praises God as “God of gods” and “Lord of kings” (Dan 2:47).

In Daniel 2, therefore, the dream vision of Nebuchadnezzar functions as a vehicle of divine revelation in which God vouchsafes to the monarch hidden knowledge of the political downfall of Babel (Dan 2:28). God adopts the dream vision as the divine language in which to transmit the divine plan for Babel to Nebuchadnezzar. More important, God uses the dream vision as a means to control Babel. To drive Babel of Nebuchadnezzar into the total confusion, God opts for the dream vision in which to communicate with the political leader of Babel. God wins control of Babel when neither Nebuchadnezzar nor his consultants understand the dream vision as God’s language. Here we find the analogy in function between the common language in Genesis 11 and the dream vision in Daniel 2. In both biblical chapters God is shown as manipulating language to subdue rebels in Babel. Fascinatingly, the author of Daniel 2 modifies the character of God, the Master of language in control of Babel. In Genesis God thwarts Nimrod’s building project in Babel, precluding the tower-builders from understanding *their* own language (Gen 11:7). In Daniel, by contrast, God frustrates Nebuchadnezzar’s political project for Babel, preventing imperial intelligentsia from understanding *God’s* language. This point becomes clearer as it is recalled that God allows the language in Babel of Nebuchadnezzar to be intact. In other words, God obtains control of Babel of Nebuchadnezzar independently of the communication through one official language that in Daniel 1 the monarch establishes as an essential condition for the consolidation of the empire. This fact shows that Daniel 2 highlights divine sovereignty more than Genesis 11. Instead of acting against Nebuchadnezzar’s advocacy of the common language of Babel, God makes the dream vision of the monarch stupefy the whole body of higher leadership of the empire.

3. Tower in Genesis and Statue in Daniel 2

Indeed, the story of Imperial Babel in Daniel 2 is engaged in subtle colloquies with the story of primordial Babel in Genesis 11. In the Genesis account people build a tower with its top in the heavens (Gen 11:4). In response, God “comes down” from the divine abode, the heavens, to see the city and its tower (Gen 11:5, 7). The deity is portrayed as watching in heaven over the human rebels on earth. In Daniel 2 God is repeatedly introduced as the “God of/in heaven” (Dan 2:18, 19, 28, 44). In Genesis God moves from the heavens to the earth to investigate the rebellious construction of humans in Babel, whereas, in Daniel, without a descent to the mundane world, God penetrates the political thought of the leader of Babel. Thus, as soon as the monarch thinks about the future on his bed, the God in heaven responds to the king’s vain ambition for the long-lasting Babel. “The God in heaven,” who dwells in the higher realm, reigns over Babel on the earth. Moreover, the divine epithet depicts God as the actual possessor of Babel because the “empire” that “the God of heave has given” to Nebuchadnezzar refers undoubtedly to Babel (Dan 2:37). The connotation is that the tyrant of Babel is merely a vassal of the celestial sovereign.¹⁰⁹ This human vassal ought not to defy the divine Lord because his earthly kingship entirely depends on God’s universal absolute domination.¹¹⁰ In Daniel 2 God appears to regard Nebuchadnezzar as transgressing the vassal-lord relationship. For the future affairs that God reveals to the monarch include the horrid end of Nebuchadnezzar. In the dream vision the monarch sees a statue made of four different metal components. One of them is gold that is used for the head of the statue (Dan 2:38). According to Daniel, the golden head is the monarch himself (Dan 2:38). The monarch sees that the head will be broken into pieces to such an extent

¹⁰⁹ God calls King Nebuchadnezzar “my servant” (Jer 25:9; 27:6; 43:10).

¹¹⁰ Rindge, “Jewish Identity under Foreign Rule,” 97.

that not a trace of it could be found (Dan 2:35). By the complete destruction of the head God may well mean the eternal perdition of Nebuchadnezzar.¹¹¹

Intriguingly, the depiction of the statue in the monarch's dream draws in many ways on the elements of the narrative of the tower of Babel. In Genesis the tower is envisaged as exceedingly high. Primeval humans aspire to have its pinnacle reach to the heavens (Gen 11:4). The gigantic imagery of the tower seems to be harmonious with the multiple expressions that lay emphasis on the greatness of the statue: It is a "great" and "huge" statue, and "its brightness is extraordinary" so much so that "its appearance is frightening" (Dan 2:31). Furthermore, the feet of the statue evoke the state of confusion in which the union of the ancient populace in Babel is helplessly dissipated. The feet that are partly of iron and partly of clay may well imply the intermarriage between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies (2:43).¹¹² Noteworthy is the mixture of races in the fourth empire, reminiscent of the mixture of languages in prehistorical Babel.¹¹³ This shared motif of mixture becomes even more appreciable when we compare Aramaic Daniel with Targum Genesis. The God of heaven "mixed" (ערב) the language of the architects in Babel so as to scatter them all over the earth (*Tg. Ps.-J.*, *Tg. Neof.* Gen 11:7, 9).¹¹⁴ Here the depiction of divine act in Babel is transformed to that of human act in the fourth empire. They married to achieve

¹¹¹ The depiction of Nebuchadnezzar as crushed by God of Israel in Daniel 2 reflects the chapter's narrative atmosphere, in which faithful Jews' resistance to "the claims of empire" is endorsed (*Ibid.*, 97).

¹¹² Collins, *Daniel with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature*, 34.

¹¹³ J. Barr, "Daniel," in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (ed. Matthew Black and H.H. Rowley; London: Routledge, 1962), 520, rightly notes that "the fusion of races in Hellenistic times" invokes "the circumstances of the Tower of Babel."

¹¹⁴ Heb. בָּלַל (mix; confound), a term chosen for a wordplay with the city name, בָּבֶל. For the Targum texts, see Ernest G. Clarke, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance* (Hoboken: Ktav Publishing House, 1984), 12; and, Alejandro Díez Macho, *Neophyti 1: Targum Palestinense MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana Tomo I Génesis* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1968), 59.

strong unity of both parties. However, it yields an exactly opposite outcome. Just as iron does not “mix” (ערב) with clay, so they marry one another only to stay loose and insecure (Dan 2:43).

It is fascinating that the vulnerability of the hybrid feet is reminiscent in an ironic manner of the tower. The feet comprise “clay” (חֹסֶף) and iron (Dan 2:33). The clay used for the feet of the statue recalls the “clay” (חֹמֶר) that the builders of the tower at Babel consider to be inappropriate building-material (Gen 11:3). So the builders in Babel replace clay with bitumen, hoping that the latter makes the tower solid. Daniel says that the feet of the statue are made of clay, material inept for durability. The reader may well understand that the statue is weaker than the tower of Babel. Daniel goes on to say that the feet emblematic of the fourth human kingdom are inexorably “brittle” (Dan 2:42), and that the demolition of the feet, the weakest part of the statue, ends up with the disintegration of the whole body of the statue (Dan 2:34-35).

Especially remarkable is the manner in which the statue is put to an end. In addition to “clay,” another element evokes a constituent material of the tower of Babel, namely, “stone.” In the dream of the king the great statue is smashed, at a single stroke, by “a stone cut out, not by hands” (Dan 2:34). The expression, “not by hands,” may well suggest that the terrible disaster for the statue comes from God, not from humans. Indeed, the climactic scene of the dream demonstrates the divine power and ultimate triumph: “A stone was cut out, not by human hands, and it struck the statue on its feet of iron and clay and broke them in pieces. Then the iron, the clay, the bronze, the silver, and the gold, were all broken in pieces and became like the chaff of the summer threshing floors; and the wind carried them away, so that not a trace of them could be found. But the stone that struck the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole earth” (Dan 2:34-35). The main idea is obviously God’s judgment on the statue—the integrated entity

of four different kingdoms. “Like the chaff” is a characteristic Jewish simile of the wicked, often used in conjunction with the imagery of “wind” that plays a role of divine judgment.¹¹⁵

The clear meaning of the stone-scene notwithstanding, a question still remains: why is it “stone” that God wields to strike the statue? (Dan 2:34, 45). More curiously, after the stone breaks the statue into pieces, it becomes a great mountain that throngs the whole earth (Dan 2:35). Later, Daniel interprets the stone to be a divinely established eternal kingdom that crushes and finishes all the former human kingdoms (Dan 2:44). The thrust of the stone may well be illuminated by the prophetic passage in Isaiah: “Behold, I will make of you a threshing sledge, new, sharp, and having teeth; you shall thresh the mountains and crush them, and you shall make the hills like chaff. You shall winnow them and the wind shall carry them away, and the tempest shall scatter them” (Isa 41:15-16).¹¹⁶ The Isaiah text envisions God as empowering the exiled Israelites to judge the foreign nations that persecute them. Besides the simile of chaff and wind, both the mountain-threshing Judeans in Isaiah and the statue-shattering stone in Daniel share more details. Both adopt the image of the threshing. The Jews in Babylon are announced to be transformed to a “threshing sledge” (מֹרֶגֶת) that makes hills like chaff. Similarly, the stone reduces the statue to a fine powder, like the chaff on the “threshing floors” (אֲדָרִי) (Isa 41:15; Dan 2:35). Both texts speak of a spectacular and horrid demolishing power: As the threshing sledge “crushes” (תִּדְקֶה) the mountains, so the stone “crushes” (תִּדְקֶה) all the constituents of the statue (Isa 41:15; Dan 2:34). Apparently, the scene of the statue-smashing stone in Daniel is modeled upon the oracle of the mountain-threshing sledge in Isaiah.

¹¹⁵ The axiomatic linkage of the two elements (chaff and wind) in Jewish thought is attestable in Job 21:18; Psa 1:4; 35:5; 83:13; Isa 17:13; and Hos 13:3.

¹¹⁶ See Seow, *Daniel*, 44, 47; and, idem, “From Mountain to Mountain,” 369-370.

What of the depiction of the stone as occupying all the earth? Seow views that the stone in Daniel 2 echoes “Jerusalem glorified as the symbol of the Lord’s abiding reign”—the prophetic imagery attestable in Isa 2:2-3; 11:9 and Micah 4:1-2.¹¹⁷ The use in Isaiah 40-55 of the divine promise to multiply the seed of Abraham in Gen 12:1-3 is, according to Seow, analogous to the depiction in Daniel 2 of the stone as growing into an immense mountain to fill all of the earth.¹¹⁸ Both the divine glory/knowledge in Isaiah and the stone in Daniel are commonly envisioned as occupying the entire earth (Isa 6:3; 11:9). Seow identifies the stone as God’s elect people in Babylon, appealing to Isa 51:1-2: “Look to the rock from which you were hewn, and to the quarry from which you were dug. Look to Abraham your father and to Sarah who bore you; for he was but one when I called him, but I blessed him and made him many.” Here the “mountain” (טֹר), from which the stone is cut in Daniel, is well consonant with the “rock” (צֹר), from which the Babylonian Jewish exiles are hewn in Isaiah (Isa 51:1; Dan 2:45).¹¹⁹

Seow’s reading is helpful, to be sure. Nevertheless, Seow’s analogy between the hewn stone in Daniel and the exiled Judeans in Isaiah is imprecise.¹²⁰ The mountains crushed by the threshing sledge in Isaiah represent the heathen nations (Isa 41:15). The threshing sledge here, as

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 44.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 48.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 47.

¹²⁰ In addition, Seow’s view of the “rock” as “Abraham” (Isa 51:1-2) seems to beg for a more explanation. Although the parallel between the “rock” in Isa 51:1 and “Abraham” in Isa 51:2 is possible, the case is never attestable elsewhere in the Jewish Bible. Rather, the term “rock” frequently stands for God (e.g., Deut 32:37; 1Sam 2:2; Ps 18:32; 19:15; 28:1; 62:3, 7; Hab 1:12). Elsewhere in Isaiah, too, the term “rock” recurs almost always as a metaphorical reference to God (Isa 8:14; 17:10; 26:4; 30:29; 44:8; 51:1). Most interestingly, God in Isa 51:1 is in many ways consonant with God in Deuteronomy 32, where God is likened to the rock. There the “righteous” (צַדִּיק) God rebukes Israel, saying, “You neglected the ‘rock’ (צֹר) who bore you; you forgot the God who gave birth to you” (Deut 32:4, 18). In the Isaiah text, speaking to the seekers of “righteousness” (צִדְקָה), God takes on the maternal image, saying, “Look to the ‘rock’ (צֹר) from which you were hewn, and to the quarry from which you were dug.” Therefore, it is highly plausible that the “rock” in Isa 51:1 refers to God who bore Abraham and Sarah, and therefore, all descendents of the couple.

Seow rightly perceives, may well refer to the divinely empowered Jewish exiles. That which is destroyed by the sledge should be defined as the *contemporary* enemies of the Jewish exiles. It is to the Jewish faithful remnants under the persecution by the Babylonian empire and other vicious foreign nations that the Isaianic text promises the divine vindication. Thus God calls them “mountains”/“hills” that are incensed against, contending with, quarreling with, and waging war against Israel (Isa 41:11-12, 15-16). On the contrary, the statue shattered by the hewn stone in Daniel represents four separate regimes which form a different larger group than the foreign persecutors of the Jewish exiles. For the composite statue rendered extinct by the assault of the stone in Daniel stands for the *totality* of four imperial regimes that span not only the current Babylon but the other three future political superpowers. It is clear then that the time span of what is destroyed by the statue in Daniel covers far beyond the turbulent period that some chapters of Isaiah encourage the Jewish exiles to survive.

Therefore, the statue in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream vision can be deemed an apocalyptic reification of humankind’s political history, throughout which the sequence of imperial superpowers arise and collapse in contest for absolute hegemony of the world.¹²¹ In Daniel 2 the human history of imperialism is doomed to the merciless judgment of God. The pulverization of the statue by the stone indicates none other than the divine annihilation of the perennial human history of the political imperialism.¹²² This history of imperialism, as recorded in the earliest

¹²¹ Hippolytus of Rome (ca. 170-236) interprets the hewn stone to finish *all* earthly sovereignties. On the stone, he states: “This ‘became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth’ ... The stroke smites the extremities, and in these it broke all dominion (ὅλην βασιλείαν) that is upon earth” (Hippolytus, “Scholia on Daniel,” 3.31. *ANF* 5:187). This stone is Christ who appears as the One like a son of man in Daniel 7: “‘the stone’ shall come from heaven which ‘smote the image’ and shivered it, and subverted all the kingdoms, and gave the kingdom to the saints of the Most High ... The stone ... is Christ who comes from heaven and brings judgment on the world” (Hippolytus, “On Daniel,” II. 2. *ANF* 5:178).

¹²² Pace Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 98, who views that “Daniel 2 does not reject pagan rule.” Smith-Christopher, “The Book of Daniel,” 57, rightly states that “In Daniel 2, the stone ‘not

biblical text of Babel in Genesis 10, was initiated in Babel the primal kingdom of Nimrod, is yet continued by Nimrod's successor Nebuchadnezzar. However, as forecast in Daniel 2, it will be prolonged only until the appointed time when the most terrible final empire will be terminated by the divine kingdom. The statue-demolishing-stone in Daniel 2 epitomizes the Jewish radical anti-imperialism of a strong apocalyptic bent.¹²³ The Danielic apocalyptic presentation of the end of imperialism is uncommon in the Isaianic visions of Jerusalem. God announces a plan to exalt Jerusalem in the last days (Isa 2:2-3; 11:9). The visions emphasize the peaceful harmony of the entire world. Unlike the vision of the stone in Daniel 2, the visions lack the strong overtones of the divine judgment on the world. Although the foreign nations, "mountains" and "hills" (Isa 2:14; 41:15-16), are judged, but neither to the degree of extinction nor by the advent of the divine kingdom. Quite to the contrary, they all not only are preserved but also become faithful proselytes of God's kingdom. Thus they long to learn the divine teaching when the "knowledge of the Lord" pervades the world (Isa 2:2-3; 11:9). Such a prophetic utopian vision of Jerusalem that peacefully embraces her foreign enemies conflicts in effect with the apocalyptic grim vision of Israel/the stone that violently obliterates the entire nations/the statue.

cut by human hands' teaches us that God is directly involved in the matter of political sovereignty over the symbol of world power: the statue." Similarly, David M. Valeta, *Lions and Ovens and Visions: A Satirical Reading of Daniel 1-6* (Sheffield: Phoenix Press, 2008), 5, views that Daniel 1-6 "relay a far more complex message, one that responds to the political realities of imperialism and colonialism." See Moshe Weinfeld, "The Protest against Imperialism in Ancient Israelites Prophecy," in *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations* (ed. S.N. Eisenstadt; Albany: SUNY Press, 1986), 169-182.

¹²³ Both Nebuchadnezzar's dream (vv. 31-35) and Daniel's interpretation of it (vv.36-45) present "a miniature apocalyptic scenario" or "an apocalyptic vision of declining world ages culminating in the advent of an eternal kingdom" (W. Sibley Towner, *Daniel* [Louisville: John Knox Press, 1984], 34).

4. Scattered Humankind in Genesis and the Hewn Stone in Daniel 2: The End of History of Human Imperialism

Let me take my argument one step further by proposing that an essential interpretive key to the portrayal of the hewn stone in Daniel 2 is provided by the allusion of the stone to the narrative of the tower of Babel in Genesis. The allusion reveals that the apocalyptic vision of the end of imperialism in Daniel 2 builds on the divine antagonism towards the collective revolt of the postdiluvian multitude against the heavenly sovereign in Genesis 11. I am not saying that the Isaianic oracles are peripheral to our understanding the meaning of the stone. Rather, my point is that the stone delineated in Dan 2:35, 44-45 is to be defined as a “double allusion” to Isaiah and Genesis simultaneously.¹²⁴ The phrase “the stone cut not by hands” in Dan 2:34, 45 not only borrows the details from Isaiah but also retains its much deeper root in Genesis. The vision of the eschatological advent of the divine kingdom in place of the worldly kingdoms flows from the complex referential system that both biblical source-texts provide. More important, only when the portrayal of the hewn stone in Daniel 2 is linked to and interacted with the source text in Genesis can the reader proceed to the fuller understanding of the destruction of the statue as the end of the history of human imperialism.

Let me investigate allusions through which textual particulars of Genesis 11 and Daniel 2 intertwine with each other. The image of humankind’s collaborative edifice in Genesis 11 is preserved in the multipartite statue in Daniel 2.¹²⁵ And several details of the portraiture of the stone are traced back to the account of the tower of Babel, enriching the divine judgment on the statue in the dream of Nebuchadnezzar. The builders of the tower choose to use “brick” in place

¹²⁴ On this concept, see Berlin, “Interpreting Torah Traditions in Psalm 105,” 20-36 (esp. 27-29).

¹²⁵ Both the tower and the statue symbolize humankind’s exceeding pride unacceptable to God. In Daniel the statue embodies a synthetic power of multiple political entities. In Genesis, by contrast, the tower is emblematic of the collective strength of humankind as a singular political entity.

of “stone” (Gen 11:3). Since they want the top of the tower to reach to the sky, the success of their project depends in large part on the building material suitable for the massive body of the tower.¹²⁶ Evidently, in terms of building material, both the “bronze,” which constitutes the statue’s belly and thighs, and the “iron,” which constitutes the statue’s legs, are much better material than the “bricks” used for the tower of the Babel (Gen 11:3; Dan 2:32, 33). This point becomes clear when the strength of the iron is particularly underscored by Daniel, who interprets the iron to be the most powerful and fourth regime: “There shall be a fourth kingdom, strong as iron; just as iron crushes and smashes everything, it shall crush and shatter all these” (Dan 2:40).

Here the passage describes awe-inspiring acts of the iron-like kingdom in three strong words: “pulverize” (דַּקַּק) “shatter” (חָשַׁל), and “break in pieces” (רָעַע). They are all employed for the fourth empire’s peerless military cruelty. Why is this detail important for our interpreting allusion in the stone in Daniel 2? It is because, in depicting the most atrocious empire, Daniel 2 connects it in an explicit way with its destroyer, the stone hewn not by hands. Although the iron-like fourth empire “pulverizes and smashes everything,” God’s kingdom likened to the stone easily “pulverizes” it. That the divinely hewn stone pulverizes even the omni-pulverizing human empire, therefore, proves the divine kingdom to be the genuine champion of all the strong human empires (Dan 2:40, 44).

Here one cannot fail to catch a rather unusual message: stone is more solid than iron. The message does not make sense within the boundaries of our common sense. The rather unfamiliar message about the stone harder than iron becomes more significant as the reader recognizes allusion in the stone to the tower of Babel. The architects of the tower regard stone as unfit to a

¹²⁶ For a discussion of building materials for the tower, see Harvey Walton, “The Tower of Babel” (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew Union College, 1981), 28-31.

solid construction, fabricating “brick” in place of “stone” (Gen 11:3). In Daniel the God in heaven, however, reverses their assessment of stone. When taken by God for God’s purpose, stone becomes stronger even than iron. In Genesis, to erect a strong construction, the architects of the tower choose bricks in place of stone. But they fail to achieve their goal. In Daniel Nebuchadnezzar sees a colossal statue, which is made of the iron as well as other strong and precious metals. With the story of the tower in mind, the reader would compare in solidness the statue-destroying stone in Daniel and the stone denied the tower in Genesis. The stone in Genesis is less solid than bricks, whereas the stone in Daniel is more solid even than iron. If the bricks of the tower are stronger than stone, iron and other metallic building-materials of the statue should be stronger than bricks. Is there any difference in the colossal statue in Daniel? Is the statue stronger than the tower? No. Just like the tower, the statue is revealed as unsuccessful, perhaps even more so than the tower. While the tower is left incomplete, the statue built more solidly than the tower of Babel collapses entirely in one stroke of the divinely hewn stone. More poignantly, it vanishes in a moment. The statue made of all best materials, therefore, only affirms the same lesson that humans in Babel have learned: Any human construction, regardless its component material, shall be insufficient to survive God’s decisive blow. This lesson drawn from the destruction of the statue is especially relevant to Nebuchadnezzar. The monarch is the director of the Babylonian destruction of the temple of God in Jerusalem (Dan 1:1-2). Through the vision of destruction of the statue by the hewn stone, therefore, God virtually announces God’s revenge on the destroyer of God’s sacred building. The divine destroyer of all human empires shatters Nebuchadnezzar’s Babel, who is the head of the hybrid statue (Dan 2:38).

Another element drawn from the account of Babel in Genesis, the “bricks,” well buttresses the ironical effect that the crushing stone creates in Daniel 2. In the Babel account, it is

implied that the *hands* of the tower-builders are quite busy with producing the brick. Indeed, the text indicates that bricks are “purely human production”¹²⁷: In erecting the tower, “they said to one another, ‘Come, let us make bricks and burn them thoroughly’” (Gen 11:3). Here, the ironical message that stone shatters the metallic body of the statue is strengthened when the stone is said to be made “not by hands” (Dan 2:34, 44). In the kingdom of Babel in Genesis stone is thought by humans to be inappropriate building-material for the tower.¹²⁸ To establish the kingdom of God in Daniel, however, the stone is shifted to God’s most appropriate weapon by which to blast the statue, the whole sequence of human superpowers. Put differently, the stone formerly rejected by the architects¹²⁹ of the tower is later chosen by God as an all-sweeping lethal weapon, by which the bloody history of the human contest for the totalitarian control of the world is terminated forever. Becoming a theological criticism of the human imperialism, the stone in transformation from Genesis to Daniel takes on a strong eschatological bent.

Indeed, God’s liquidation of human wicked politics is powerfully reaffirmed in the ending scene of the divine judgment on the statue (Dan 2:34-35). The finale of the gargantuan statue in Daniel is in a clear manner designed to evoke the finale of the tower of Babel in Genesis. In constructing the tower, the purpose of those primeval builders in Babel was not to “be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth” (Gen 11:4). But God makes their fear a reality. The denouement of the story repeats the divine act of scattering the builders: “The Lord

¹²⁷ André Lacocque, “Whatever Happened in the Valley of Shinar?: A Response to Theodor Hiebert,” *JBL* 128/1 (2009): 35. The word pair, bricks/mortar in Gen 11:4, recurs in Exod 1:14.

¹²⁸ In observing the sound play in Gen 11:3b (לֵאבֶן/לִבְנָה [bricks/stone]; חֶמֶר/חֲמֹר [bitumen/mortar]), J.P. Fokkelman, *Narrative Art in Genesis: Specimens of Stylistic and Structural Analysis* (Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1975), rightly states that the sound play “implants the idea that burning clay can supply them with *the building material they urgently need*” (emphasis mine).

¹²⁹ For this OT concept, see Psalms 118:22 “The stone that the builders rejected has become the chief cornerstone.” Jesus, Paul, and Peter induce the Psalmic line to express the formation of the kingdom of God (Matt 21:42; Mark 12:10-11; Luke 20:17; Acts 4:11; Eph 2:20; 1 Pet 2:4).

scattered them abroad from there over the face of the whole earth” (Gen 11:8, 9). This divine judgment finds expression in the aftermath of the destruction of the statue in Daniel: God allows all of them to be completely carried away by the wind (Dan 2:35). As if repeating what God has already done to all the rebellious architects in Babel, God unrelentingly disintegrates all the components of the statue, the symbolism of different human absolute regimes. In Genesis those architects are dispersed by God. The tower is left incomplete, with no residents there (Gen 11:8). The image of the bleak site of the deserted tower is represented in the gloomy statement in Daniel. After the fine particles of the crumbled statue have gone with the wind, “not a trace of them could be found” in the site of the statue (Dan 2:35).

Then, finally, the ending scene is sealed with an elegant reversion that foregrounds the supremacy of the heavenly sovereign. In Genesis, it is those tower-builders who are dispersed by God into the whole earth. It means that “the whole earth” (כָּל־הָאָרֶץ) comes to be filled with rebels (Gen 11:8, 9). Daniel shows an entirely different finale. God not only brings all the human regimes to an end; God proceeds to establish God’s own kingdom that fills the whole earth. Thus an ironic reversal of Genesis occurs in Daniel. As the architects of the tower of Babel are scattered by God, so is the flourey debris of the crushed statue dispersed by the wind. The parallel between the architects of the tower and the debris of the statue suggests that the crushed particles refer to the subjects of those four empires. The point is that, in Daniel, it is not those imperial subjects that fill the earth. For they all vanish forever. It is the statue-demolishing stone itself that “filled the whole earth” (כָּל־אֶרֶץ) (Dan 2:35). Thus, what fills the whole earth is not those blasphemers, who emulate the divine dominion in the heavens, but rather a divinely installed “kingdom,” which finishes all other kingdoms and enjoys eternal divine kingship (Dan 2:44). Unsurprisingly, this “kingdom” has as its members those that are called the saints of the Most

High (Dan 7:27). Accordingly, the stone representative of the divine kingdom in Daniel 2 and of divinely chosen people in Daniel 7, is the only constituent of the everlasting kingdom of God, occupying the mundane world with nothing but itself (Dan 2:35). In this way, the allusion of the stone to the postdiluvian primeval history involving Babel aptly situates God's victory over Nebuchadnezzar within the eschatological milieu: In the endtime the empire of God supplants all the empires of the humankind.

III. Literary Allusions to Genesis 10 and 11 in Daniel 3

As I demonstrated above, Daniel 1 and 2 allude to the two sections of Babel in Genesis.

Nebuchadnezzar in many ways endeavors to accomplish what the early architects led by Nimrod in Babel failed. Embedded in the opening section of Daniel and recurrent in the ensuing narrative continuum, the allusion to Genesis delineates Nebuchadnezzar as Nimrod *redivivus*. Activating the prehistorical memory of Nimrod's Babel and the architects therein, the allusion in Daniel 1 and 2 well prepares the reader for the theme of Daniel 3, the ultimate supremacy of God over the imperialism of Nebuchadnezzar.

A. Main Signs of Allusion

In line with the allusion in the prologue, the allusion in chapter 3 evokes two separate texts in Genesis 10 and 11. As we have seen, when the prologue in Daniel 1 evokes Genesis 10, the reader begins to consider how the narrative that deals with Nimrod interacts with the prologue. Daniel 3, too, recalls Genesis 10. But the allusion in Daniel 3 is concerned not so much with the Nimrod narrative but with the overarching theme of Genesis 10: After the great flood humankind descends from the families of Noah's three sons and spreads out abroad all over the world. The

other source text, Gen 11:1-9, fashioning a number of linguistic and conceptual correspondences with Daniel 3, makes close dialogue with the tale of three pious Jews. Again, the reader finds a series of complex markers that trigger intertextual patterns and mutual modifications between the alluding and evoked texts as well as within the evoked texts themselves. Let me begin my argument by proposing the main sign: “nations, clans, and languages.” This main sign of the literary allusion operates in many junctions between the alluding text of Daniel 3 and its two evoked texts in Genesis 10 and 11:

Chart III: Main Signs of the Allusion

The Alluding Text	The Evoked Text	
Daniel 3	Genesis 10	Genesis 11
vv. 4, 7 nations, clans, and languages (עַמִּיּוֹת אֲמִיּוֹת וְלִשָּׁנוֹת) ¹³⁰	vv. 20, 31 according to their clans, according to their languages, in their lands, in their nations (לְמִשְׁפָּחָתָם לְלִשְׁנָתָם בְּאַרְצֵתָם בְּגוֹיֵיהֶם)	v. 6 they are one people, and they all have the same language (הֵן עַם אֶחָד וְשָׂפָה אַחַת לְכָלֶם)
v. 29 any nations, clan, or language (כָּל-עַם אָמָה וְלִשָּׁן)	v.5 each according to its language, according to their clans, among their nations (אִישׁ לְלִשְׁנֹו לְמִשְׁפָּחָתָם בְּגוֹיֵיהֶם)	v. 6 they are one people, and they all have the same language (הֵן עַם אֶחָד וְשָׂפָה אַחַת לְכָלֶם)
v. 31 Nebuchadnezzar to all the nations, clans, and languages (כָּל-עַמִּיּוֹת אֲמִיּוֹת וְלִשָּׁנוֹת) that live in all the earth (בְּכָל-אֶרֶץ)	v. 32 These are the clans (מִשְׁפָּחָת) of Noah’s sons, according to their genealogies, in their nations (גוֹיֵיהֶם); and from these the nations (הַגּוֹיִם) were separated on the earth (בְּאֶרֶץ) after the flood	v. 7, 9 let us confuse their language (שְׂפָתָם) there, they will not understand one another’s speech (שְׂפָת) “There the Lord confused the language of all the earth (שְׂפַת כָּל-הָאָרֶץ)

¹³⁰ In Dan 3:4, both Ms. 88, the only complete Greek manuscript, and, the Syro-Hexaplar, the literal Syriac translation of 5th column of Origen’s Hexapla, have “and lands” before “peoples” (See Collins, *Daniel*, 176). Four elements of the OG variant expression, “ἔθνη καὶ χωραὶ λαοὶ καὶ γλῶσσαι” (nations and lands, peoples and languages) better reflects those of the counter expression in MT Genesis 10:20, 31, “לְמִשְׁפָּחָתָם לְלִשְׁנָתָם בְּאַרְצֵתָם בְּגוֹיֵיהֶם”; For the variant Greek, see Joseph Ziegler and Oliver Munnich, ed. *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Vol. XVI.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1999), 262.

There are three important formal features that connect Daniel 3 and Genesis 10. First, both marker and marked share three core elements. The marker phrase repeats its three integral components: “nations” (עַמְּמִיָּא)¹³¹ “clans” (אַמְּיָא)¹³² and “languages” (לְשׁוֹנֵיָא) (Dan 3:4, 7, 31).¹³³ In the marker phrase they are arranged consistently in the same order. The recognition of the three elements in all the marker-phrases in Daniel 3 helps the reader discover their corresponding lexical elements in the marked phrases in Genesis 10: “nations” (גוֹיִם), “clans” (מִשְׁפָּחוֹת), and “languages” (לְשׁוֹנוֹת). These three references in the marked phrases, too, gain prominence through their verbatim recurrence (Gen 10:20, 31). Secondly, the similarity of variation is remarkable. A variation on the tripartite marker-phrase occurs, shifting plural to singular: “any people, nation, or language” (Dan 3:29). As the Aramaic marker-phrase has an alternate form, so the Hebrew marked-phrase modifies itself. Of the three repeated elements in Gen 11:5, only “language” appears as singular. This detail finds an exquisite connection between the variation of the marker and that of the marked. That is to say, the singular form of “language”

¹³¹ The Aramaic עַמְּ can mean either “nation” or “people” (*HALOT*, 5:1950). In Daniel 3 I render it as “nation,” considering that the Aramaic marker עַמְּמִיָּא reflects its Hebrew marked, גוֹיִם (nations). Both words can be interchangeably used for the same reference, though עַמְּמִיָּא tends to stress the blood relationship than גוֹיִם. See my Chart IV.

¹³² Generally the Aramaic אַמְּיָא/אֻמְּיָא refers to “nation” or “people,” while used alternately with עַמְּ (nation/people). In the Hebrew Bible, however, the Aramaic אַמְּיָא refers only to “clans” or “small group of people” (e.g., Gen 25:16; Nu 25:15; Ps 117:1). In Daniel 3 I take the Aramaic to be “clan,” a particular group of people that use the same language. In Daniel 3 אַמְּיָא, as juxtaposed with עַמְּ (nation), should be taken to be a subgroup of עַמְּ. Above all, notice that the Aramaic אַמְּיָא in the alluding text of Daniel 3 reflects מִשְׁפָּחוֹת (MT)/φυλαὶ (OG and Th.) in the evoked text in Genesis 10. In Revelation, likewise, it is attested that the Greek term φυλαὶ represents the Aramaic term אַמְּיָא. In Revelation the phrase “λαοί, φυλαὶ, γλῶσσαι” alludes repeatedly to the Danielic phrase “עַמְּמִיָּא, אַמְּיָא, לְשׁוֹנֵיָא,” thereby denoting that the Aramaic אַמְּיָא corresponds to φυλαὶ (Rev 7:9; 11:9; Cf. “πᾶσα φύλη”; 5:9; 13:7; 14:6; 17:15). On the use of the Danielic expression in Revelation, see David E. Aune, *Revelation 6-16* (WBC 52B; Dallas: Word, 1998), 467.

¹³³ This tripartite expression is undoubtedly purposeful. The book of Daniel shows a tendency to forge tripartite phraseology and its variations. All of them are “a kind of rhetorical extension of the ‘peoples, clans, and languages’ pattern” (Peter W. Coxon, “The ‘List’ Genre and Narrative Style in the Court Tales of Daniel,” *JSOT* 35 (1986): 106-107 [here, p. 106]).

in association with “אִישׁ” (“each”) in the evoked text is nicely consonant with the singular form of “language” in association with “כָּל” (“any”) in the alluding text (Gen 10:5; Dan 3:29).

Besides, the evoked text in Genesis 10 forges another variation that strengthens its link with the alluding text in Daniel 3. In Gen 10:32 the word “nations” is used twice, while the word “languages” is missing. This modification of the marked phrase in Genesis 10 may well be harmonized by the other evoked text in Genesis 11. There the element of “language” is eminent, whereas the element of “nations” is entirely missing. In this way, both evoked texts give the equal weight both to the dispersion of “languages” (Genesis 11) and to its result, the emergence of “nations” (Genesis 10). Thirdly and finally, both the alluding text in Daniel 3 and the evoked text in Genesis 10 share the common portraiture of the “earth” as the dwelling abode of the scattered population. Genesis 10 is sealed up with a remark that clans and nations “are separated on the earth” (Gen 10:32). The earth emerging from Genesis 10 is affirmed when Daniel 3 ends on a note that those nations and clans “live in all the earth” (Dan 3:31).

The other evoked text, Gen 11:1-9, undergirds the link between Genesis 10 and Daniel 3. In Genesis 10 three reiterative elements appear as plural form: clans (מְשפָּחוֹת), nations (גּוֹיִם), languages (לְשׁוֹנוֹת) (Gen 10:20, 30, 31). In Genesis 11 only two elements appear as singular form: “people” (עַם) and “language” (שָׂפָה) (Gen 11:6, 9). The use of singular form in the narrative of the tower of Babel in Genesis 11 becomes understandable when it is recalled that the narrative envisions the primordial situation in which mankind has the common language. Thus, explaining how the event in Babel caused the multiplicity of languages and peoples, Genesis 11 is firmly connected to Genesis 10, where primeval congregation in Babel is divided and grouped according to their different languages, clans, and nations. Daniel 3 portrays the world under Babel the Empire in the way evocative of Genesis 10 and 11 that characterize the world as the

multiplication of language due to collective revolt of primordial humankind against God at Babel. Simultaneously, through the main sign of allusion Daniel 3 makes the reader anticipate that, like Babel of old in Genesis, Nebuchadnezzar's Babel will be defeated by the God in heaven.

In recognizing the main sign of allusion, one might be interested in the formal difference between the Aramaic marker in Daniel and the Hebrew marked in Genesis. The language barrier does not deter the reader from discovering the abundance of the sign of allusion. To the contrary, two cognate languages well expose the shrewdly designed lexical links, heightening the probability of the existence of the literary allusion in Daniel 3 to Genesis 10 and 11. Particularly, the Greek and Aramaic versions of the three biblical texts show the correspondences between the Aramaic marker and the Hebrew marked:

Chart IV: The Synopsis of the Main Signs

Definition	nation(s), people(s)	Clan(s)	language(s)
Aramaic Marker	עַם/עַמְמֵיָא (Dan 3:4, 7, 29, 31)	אַמְיָא (Dan 3:4, 7, 29, 31)	לְשׁוֹן/לְשׁוֹנֵי (Dan 3:4, 7, 29, 31)
Hebrew Marked	עַם/גּוֹיִם (Gen 10:5, 20, 31, 32; 11:6)	מִשְׁפָּחָת (Gen 10:5, 20, 31, 32)	שָׁפָה/לְשׁוֹן/לְשׁוֹנוֹת (Gen 10:5, 20, 31; 11:6, 7)
Marker In Greek	ἔθνος/ἔθνη (OG Dan 3:4, 7, 96) ¹³⁴	φυλή/φυλαί ¹³⁵ (OG Dan 3:7, 96; Th. Dan 3:4, 7, 96; 4:1)	γλῶσσα (OG Dan 3:4, 7, 96; Th. Dan 3:4, 7, 96; 4:1)

¹³⁴ Th. Dan 3:4, 7, 96; 4:1 witness λαός/λαοί, synonyms of OG ἔθνος /ἔθνη.

¹³⁵ OG Dan 3:4 has λαοὶ (peoples). The Greek λαός refers to “a body of people with a common cultural bonds and ties to a specific territory” (BDAG, 586). Thus, the OG reading λαοὶ is to be deemed as a lexical equivalent with the Th. reading, φυλαί (clans). Both Greek versions show that the Aramaic אַמְיָא in Daniel 3 reflects the Hebrew מִשְׁפָּחָת (clans) in Genesis 10. Other than OG Dan 3:4, the two Greek versions of Daniel consistently render אַמְיָא as φυλαί that refers persistently to the Hebrew reading מִשְׁפָּחָת (clans). For the two Greek versions of Daniel, see Ziegler and Munnich, *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*, 234-395. For English translation of two Greek versions in a form of synopsis, see R. Timothy McLay, “Daniel” in *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 994-1022.

Marked In Greek	ἔθνη (OG Gen 10:5, 20, 31)	φυλαὶ (OG Gen 10:5,20,31)	γλῶσσα (OG Gen 10:5,20,31; 11:7) ¹³⁶
Marked In Aramaic	עממא/עם (<i>Tg. Onq.</i> , <i>Tg. Ps.-J.</i> Gen 10:5, 20, 31, 32; 11:6) ¹³⁷	אומא/אומיא (<i>Tg. Neof.</i> Gen 10:5, 20, 31, 32) ¹³⁸	לשן/לשניא (<i>Tg. Onq.</i> , <i>Tg. Ps.-J.</i> , <i>Tg. Neof.</i> Gen 10:5, 20, 31; 11:6, 7, 9)

Daniel has two complete, ancient Greek versions: the Old Greek (OG) and Theodotion (Th.). In the marker phrases the two Greek versions consistently share a series of common vocabularies: “ἔθνος/ἔθνη” (nation[s]), “φυλή/φυλαί” (clan[s]), and “γλῶσσα” (languages). These Greek terms in Daniel 3 are correspondent to those in Genesis 10 and 11. Notably, the grouping of the three Greek words (ἔθνη, φυλαί, γλῶσσα) is attested only in OG Daniel 3 and OG Genesis 10, intensifying the probability that Aramaic Daniel 3 appropriates Hebrew Genesis 10. The lexical resonance between Greek Daniel 3 and Greek Genesis 10 is harmonious with that between Aramaic Daniel and the Aramaic versions of Genesis.¹³⁹ The Aramaic directional markers in Daniel reappear in the Aramaic translations of the Hebrew marked components in Genesis. Particularly, the Hebrew “מִשְׁפָּחָת” (clans) is correspondent with the Aramaic “אומיא” in Targum Neofiti Genesis 10, the very Aramaic marker that we find in Daniel 3. This may well

¹³⁶ OG Gen 11:6, 9 have χεῖλος/χείλη for שִׁפְּהָ.

¹³⁷ *Tg. Neof.* Genesis translates MT גוֹיִם as אומא.

¹³⁸ *Tg. Onq.* shows variants of זרעִי (clans), while *Tg. Ps.-J.* shows ייחוס (genealogy).

¹³⁹ It is hard to date these Pentateuchal Targums. Nevertheless, it is true that they often preserve and transmit earlier exegetical traditions that derived from the Second Temple period to which Daniel belongs as well. See John Bowker, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature: An Introduction to Jewish Interpretations of Scripture* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 14; Macho, *Neophyti I*, 57-114 (esp. p. 77); Gabriele Boccaccini, “Targum Neofiti as a Proto-Rabbinic Document: A Systemic Analysis,” in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in their Historical Context* (ed. D.R.G. Beattie and M.J. McNamara; JSOTSup 166; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 254-263; Robert Hayward, “The Priestly Blessing in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*,” *JSP* 19 (1999):81-101 (esp. 99-101); and, Edward M. Cook, “The Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in the Targums,” in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism* (ed. Matthias Henze; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Pub.; 2012), 92-117 (esp. 92).

imply that, like the Neofiti Targumist of Genesis, our author of Daniel 3 employed the Aramaic “אומיא” as a counter-word of the Hebrew “מִשְׁפָּחַת” (clans) in Genesis 10.

The Targumists translated two different Hebrew words, “גוֹיִם” (Genesis 10) and “עַם” (Genesis 11), as the same Aramaic “עמא/עממא.” This fact heightens the possibility that the author of Daniel 3, too, intended one Aramaic directional marker “עם/עממא” to signal two Hebrew marked components, “גוֹיִם” (Genesis 10) and “עַם” (Genesis 11). Likewise, the Aramaic term “לשן” in the Targums represents two separate Hebrew terms, “לִשְׁוֹן” (Genesis 10) and “שִׁפְהָ” (Genesis 11). This helps us recognize that the Aramaic marker “לשן” in Daniel 3 reflects two Hebrew marked elements, “לִשְׁוֹן” (Genesis 10) and “שִׁפְהָ” (Genesis 11). The richness of multilingual intertextuality between Daniel 3 and Genesis 10 and 11 sufficiently evidences the existence of the literary allusion that operates between Daniel and Genesis.

B. Supplemental Signs of Allusion

The presence of allusion is further bolstered as it is observed that, under the force of the main sign of allusion, the supplemental signs of allusion suggest themselves. While the main sign is prominent in the correlations between Daniel 3 and Genesis 10, the supplemental signs are outstanding in the interactions between Daniel 3 and Genesis 11. In consequence, both the main and supplemental signs constitute amazing density of the literary allusion in Daniel 3 to the tales of Babel in Genesis. In the Chart V below I illustrate verbal and ideological connections that these supplemental signs make:

Chart V: Supplemental Signs of Allusion

The Alluding Text	The Evoked Text	
Daniel 3	Genesis 10	Genesis 11

v. 1b the plain of Dura in the province of Babel (בְּבִקְעַת דּוּרָא בְּמִדְיַת בָּבֶל)	v. 10 his kingdom was Babel (בָּבֶל) ... in the land of Shinar (בְּאַרְצֵי שִׁנְעָר)	vv. 2, 9 a plain in the land of Shinar (בְּבִקְעָה בְּאַרְצֵי שִׁנְעָר) ... it was called Babel (בָּבֶל)
v. 1a King Nebuchadnezzar made (עָבַד) a golden statue (צֶלֶם) whose height (רוֹמָה) was sixty cubits	v. 12 he built (וַיִּבֶן) ... Rehoboth-Ir (עִיר), Calah, that is the great city (עִיר)	v. 4a let us build (נִבְנֶה) ourselves a city (עִיר) and a tower (מִגְדָּל) with its top in the heavens (שָׁמַיִם)
vv. 2, 3, 5, 7 (cf. 1, 12, 14, 18) ¹⁴⁰ the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar erected (צֶלֶמָא דִּי הֶקִים נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר מְלָכָא)		v. 5 the tower that mankind had built (הַמִּגְדָּל אֲשֶׁר בָּנוּ בְנֵי הָאָדָם)
vv. 5, 15, (cf. 7, 10) ¹⁴¹ when you hear the sound (דִּי־תִשְׁמָעוֹן קָל)		v. 7 they will not understand (לֹא שָׁפְהָ) one another's speech (יִשְׁמָעוּ)
vv. 6, 11, (15, 17, 20-24, 26) ¹⁴² (anyone) shall be thrown into a furnace of burning fire (יִתְרָמָא לְגֹאֲא־תֹנִן נִירָא יְקַדְתָּא)		v. 3 let us make bricks and burn (them) with fire (נִלְבְּנָה לְבָנִים וְנִשְׂרָפָה לְשִׂרְפָּה) (נִלְבְּנָה לְבָנִים וְנִשְׂרָפָה לְשִׂרְפָּה). ¹⁴³

Through the supplemental signs the allusion in Daniel 3 represents and transforms many significant points of the tales of Babel in Genesis 10 and 11. Of numerous verbal recurrences in

¹⁴⁰ Slightly altered forms.

¹⁴¹ Slightly altered forms.

¹⁴² These all convey the idea that the three men are thrown into the blazing furnace.

¹⁴³ *Tg. Onq.* נרמי לבנין ונוקדינון בנורא יוקידתא (Let us throw bricks and burn [them] in the blazing fire). On the Aramaic text and the variants, see the critical apparatus prepared by Alexander Sperber, ed., *The Pentateuch according to Targum Onkelos* (vol. 1 of *Bible in Aramaic, Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*; Leiden: Brill, 1959), 15; and, Israel Drazin and Stanley M. Wagner, *Onkelos on the Torah: Genesis* (Jerusalem: Gefen Publishing House, 2006), 59. Besides this parallel, the Aramaic verb “אזי” (heat) in *Tg. Ps.-J.* and *Tg. Neof.* Gen 11:3 evokes Dan 3:19, 22, where it is stressed that Nebuchadnezzar’s furnace is exceedingly heated up. See Michael Maher, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 49.

Daniel 3¹⁴⁴ the expression, “the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar erected,” gains a particular salience. The expression with its numerous variations is designed to inculcate the point that the monarch’s purpose of erecting the golden statue is to promote the political solidarity of his empire by means of a wholesale public ritual.¹⁴⁵ In terms of the social function, therefore, the statue of the Babylonian tyrant is a “replica” of the tower of the primeval humanity in Babel.¹⁴⁶ Just like the statue, the tower serves as a social enterprise, in which all the members of Babel stay in perfect unison. Indeed, the allusion in the statue to the tower is based on connections, in which Daniel 3 appropriates varying elements of the Babel account in Genesis 11. Let me offer three examples. First, the link between the statue and the tower is facilitated not only by their common social function but also syntactical structure of sentence in which both are commonly expressed. The tyrant of the Babylonian empire and the citizens of Babel of old are all depicted as a skilful architect: Nebuchadnezzar “erected” (הָקִים) the statue and the Babel citizens “built” (בָּנוּ) the tower. The action of the two figures is expressed in a dependent relative clause of the same structure. A head word is followed by a relative pronoun and an attributive clause.¹⁴⁷ Thus both “the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar erected (הַמַּלְאָכָה אֲשֶׁר הָקִים נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר מֶלֶךְ)” and “the tower that humankind had built (הַמִּגְדָּל אֲשֶׁר בָּנוּ בְנֵי הָאָדָם)” take the same structure of sentence, thereby constituting a correspondence in terms of rhythm. Secondly, the depiction of

¹⁴⁴ Stylistically, Daniel 3 is characteristic of frequent verbatim repetition and long tedious details. This particular style serves to imbue the narrative in Daniel 3 with a strong satirical mood. See Lawrence M. Willis, *The Jewish Novel in the Ancient World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 62; and David Valeta, “The Satirical Nature of the Book of Daniel,” in *Apocalyptic in History and Tradition* (ed. Christopher Rowland and John Barton; JSPSup 43; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 91.

¹⁴⁵ The cultic atmosphere in Daniel 3 is further reinforced by the Babylonian cultic functionaries, “Chaldeans” (כַּשְׁדָּאִי; Dan 3:8). See Coxon, “The ‘List’ Genre and Narrative Style,” 100-102.

¹⁴⁶ So Steinmann, *Daniel*, 57.

¹⁴⁷ See Bruce K. Waltke, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 331.

both constructions commonly emphasizes size. In Genesis 11 the height of the tower is exaggerated to such an extent that its pinnacle reaches up to the sky (Gen 11:4). Likewise, in Genesis 10, the founder of Babel is credited with a series of “great” cities (Gen 10:12). In a similar vein, the physical dimensions of Nebuchadnezzar’s statue, specified as ninety feet by nine feet, create an impression that it is disproportionately heavy at the top so as to be in danger of toppling (Dan 3:1). It appears that the hyperbolically accentuated height of the tower in Genesis is transformed to the grotesquely unbalanced dimensions of the statue in Daniel.¹⁴⁸

Thirdly and finally, the transmission of the image of the tower to that of the statue finds additional support by their shared geographical setting, “plain” (Gen 11:2; Dan 3:1).¹⁴⁹ It is difficult to know exactly where Dura is located. Nevertheless, the text clarifies that the “plain” (בְּקֶעָא) of Dura belongs to the province of “Babel” that Nebuchadnezzar rules (Dan 3:1). This is an incontestable datum, in which the informed reader recalls that “Babel” is part of the “plain” (בְּקֶעָא) in the land of Shinar (Gen 10:10; 11:2, 9). Hence, Daniel 3 implies that the plain, where Nebuchadnezzar erects the statue, belongs to the very site where postdiluvian people previously built the tower under the control of Nimrod.¹⁵⁰ In doing so, Daniel 3 connects the statue to the tower.

¹⁴⁸ Collins, *Daniel*, 181, observes “the great oddity of Nebuchadnezzar’s statue”; and, Valeta, *Lions and Ovens and Visions*, 79, speaks of “the hyperbolic description of an ironically towering (but probably tottering) golden statue.”

¹⁴⁹ Sherman, “Translating the Tower,” 164-165.

¹⁵⁰ Babel and Dura share an image of city. Babel may mean a “city” (עִיר) that is a walled settlement (Gen 11:4). Likewise, the name, “Dura” (דּוּרָא), conveys an image of a city surrounded by wall (Dan 3:1). Etymologically, Dura appears to derive from the Akkadian appellative *dūru(m)*, which means city-wall (see, *HALOT*, 5:1849). Similarly, Montgomery, *Daniel*, 197; Edward M. Cook, “In the Plain of the Wall” (Dan 3:1),” *JBL* 108/1 (1989), 116; and, T.J. Meadowcroft, *Aramaic Daniel and Greek Daniel: A Literary Comparison* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 144.

More fascinatingly, the dedication ceremony of the symbolic statue carefully transforms the account of the tower in Genesis 11. The transformation of the Genesis material in Daniel 3 revolves around the imperial ceremony that Nebuchadnezzar designs. While the tower-project is purely political, the statue-worship combines politics and cult. Making the statue of only gold, the monarch claims invulnerability of the Babylonian empire, and, through the international-scale worship of the statue, he endows the empire with the attribute of public religion.¹⁵¹ His ultimate aim is clear. Installing the empire as the object of the state-cult, Nebuchadnezzar drives the entire subjects to the state of a full unison.¹⁵² In Daniel 3 all the subject peoples of the empire are coerced into performing only one act of kneeling down to worship the statue, in a moment precisely designated by the tyrant. In Genesis primeval humankind longs to stay in unison through its collaborative project to build the lofty tower. In Daniel humankind still pursues collective unison, but what brings humankind together is the cult that undergirds the dictatorial authority of its leader.

I wish to offer two important points that highlight the literary transformation in which the role of the tower-building in Genesis 11 shifted to the state-cult in Daniel 3. First, the function of the human communication is transformed. To enforce his command to adore the statue, the monarch has his royal orchestra play the “sound” (קל) of musical instruments (Dan 3:5, 7, 10, 15). The reiterative mention of the musical “sound” at the worship is revealing when it is recalled that God, while confounding the common language of the architects at Babel, made them unable to listen to (לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ) one another’s speech (שִׁפְהָ) (Gen 11:7). That which they

¹⁵¹ In the Neo-Babylonian Inscription *Nebuchadnezzar XII* Nebuchadnezzar does “pious works” for Babylon and rebuilds “sacred places” in Babylon. See Stephen Langdon, *Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire: Part I Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905), 79, 97.

¹⁵² Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 58, notes that the style of deliberate and balanced repetitions is well harmonious with the “cultic inauguration of an idol by King Nebuchadnezzar.”

want to eagerly achieve is helplessly frustrated by God's baffling their language (Gen 11:6). The Nebuchadnezzar emerging from Daniel 3 is a cunning leader who aspires to reverse such an unpleasant situation of disconnection of human linguistic communication. He does not restore the lost universal language. More boldly, he supplants it with a new media of communication, that is, the signal of music. To recover the collective energy of humankind, he enables subject peoples of the Babylonian Empire to resume an act of listening, the very act God forbids in Babel of Genesis 11. True, this point is emphasized in Daniel 3. Whenever the monarch's herald cries aloud, "at the moment you listen to (תִּשְׁמָעוּן) the sound," they listen to the sound and exactly follows the royal injunction (Dan 3:5, 7 10, 15). Furthermore, Nebuchadnezzar's replacement of language with music in Daniel 3 harks back to a similar act of God in Daniel 2. There God adopts a dream vision as an alternative medium of communication between God and the monarch so that God may incapacitate the monarch's political power. In response, the monarch behaves as if he mimics God, while employing music as an alternative to language to show off his political power.

The impression that Nebuchadnezzar deliberately counters God is strengthened by the author's depiction of the subject peoples. In the plain of Dura their act of hearing is not that of mutual understanding. They simply submit themselves to the totalitarian control of their leader. No one survives in the leader's domain without carrying his command out. This observation brings me to my second point of the transformation from Genesis 11 to Daniel 3 that occurs in the function of fire. The architects of the tower make bricks, saying, "let us burn (them) with fire" (נִשְׂרָפָה לְשָׂרָפָה) (Gen 11:3). For them, the fire is a means to produce solid material fit to their skyscraper. In Daniel 3 the three Jewish youths reject the statue worship. Nebuchadnezzar throws them into a furnace of "burning fire (נֹרָא יִקְדָּתָא) (Dan 3:6, 11). For the tyrant, therefore,

the fire is a means to coerce people of Babel to join the idolatrous liturgy. The architectural technology of the rebels of God in Genesis 11 is shifted to the imperial violence against people of God in Daniel 3. The role of fire is modified to establish a connection between the collective project that everyone collaborates and the collective cult that Daniel's comrades alone resist.

The link between the architects' fire and Nebuchadnezzar's fire is intensified by their shared act of casting into the blazing fire. The commonality becomes more observable through the lexical kinship between the Aramaic Daniel and the Aramaic version of Genesis. Notice that the monarch's threat of incineration, "anyone shall be thrown into a furnace of burning fire" (יִתְרָמָא לְגֹאֲ-אֲתוֹן נֹרָא יִקְדָּתָא), resonates with the builders' enthusiasm for collaboration, "let us throw bricks and burn with the burning fire" (נִרְמִי לְבָנִין וְנֹקִידִינוֹן בְּנֹרָא יִקְדָּתָא) (*Tg. Onq.* Gen 11:3; Dan 3:6, 11). Both the architects and the tyrant defy the sovereign God by means of the blazing fire. The tower-builders cast bricks into the blazing fire to demonstrate their collective power that storms God's heavenly domain. Nebuchadnezzar throws Daniel's friends into the blazing fire to show his political power that prevails over God's power whom they serve (Dan 3:15). God completely frustrates both of them. In Genesis God precludes the architects from scaling the heights of heaven, while safeguarding God's domain in heaven from the architects of Babel. In Daniel God preserves Daniel's friends within the fire, while protecting God's people on the earth from the king of Babel. God displays God's sovereignty both in heaven and on the earth.

C. Maximum Activation of Allusion: **1. God's Defeat of Humankind's Imperialism**

The exiled Jews in the Babylonian empire saw clearly the pain and brutality of the world to which they were deported. Daniel 3, a story about the Jewish Diaspora in Babylon, produced a

theological critique of human imperialism. The allusion in Daniel 3 to Genesis is an ideological device to characterize imperialism as an act of depraved humanity. Activating the tales of Babel and primeval history in whose context the tales appear, Daniel 3 forges in many ways an uncompromising attack on anti-divine political hegemony. By doing so the anti-imperialistic narrative in Daniel 3 envisions the ultimate victory of divine sovereignty at the end of days. The critique of imperialism is further developed in the eschatological vision in Daniel 7, reflecting the social setting of the faithful Jews under the persecution of Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

The sinister images of human imperialism Daniel 3 paints revolve largely around the clash between King Nebuchadnezzar and the God of three pious Jews. King Nebuchadnezzar, the representative of the Babylonian empire, is delineated as competing with “Lord of kings” for the dominion over humankind (Dan 2:47). The contest for the world-wide absolute rule is bitterly intense.¹⁵³ Nebuchadnezzar casts the three youths into a furnace of the blazing fire, since they reject the king’s assertion of supreme authority and cling to God without fear of death. God dispatches a divine being like “a son of gods” to God’s saints, so that they are protected right in the innermost death zone (Dan 3:25). The contest between God and Nebuchadnezzar for the imperium ends with the royal rebel’s full acknowledgement of the “Most High God” (Dan 3:26).¹⁵⁴

From the outset of the narrative the earthly king’s deliberate challenge to the heavenly Lord cannot go unnoticed. Daniel 3 starts with the report that Nebuchadnezzar erects a “statue,” a motif that inexorably ties Daniel 3 with Daniel 2. The golden statue Nebuchadnezzar fashions

¹⁵³ Philip R. Davies, *Daniel* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 92, states that the “story is about the sovereignty of life, for the contest is ... between God and the king. Which has the power over life?”

¹⁵⁴ I use the term “imperium” as equivalent with the Danielic terms such as “kingship” (מְלִכּוּת) (Dan 2:37, 44; 4:28, 33; 5:18; 6:1; 7:14, 18, 22, 27) and “dominion” (שְׁלִטָּה) (Dan 3:33; 4:19, 31; 6:27; 7:6, 12, 14). See Philip R. Davies, “Daniel in the Lion’s Den” in *Images of Empire*, 160-178 (here, p. 161).

on the plain of Dura is deeply engaged with the symbolic statue he already saw in his dream.¹⁵⁵ The statue in the dream consists of four different metals and clay. In Daniel 2 Daniel addresses the fact that only the golden head stands for the king himself but other parts of the statue represent a succession of multiple human empires after Babylon. Daniel makes it especially clear that Babylon is transient and already ordained by God to be superseded.¹⁵⁶ For Nebuchadnezzar, therefore, the statue in his dream symbolizes the world political history that is decreed from the God in heaven. By setting up the statue whose entire body is made of only gold, the monarch amounts to claiming the eternal invincibility of his empire. Moreover, by the monolithic substance of the statue, Nebuchadnezzar opposes God's plan to control the course of history. It is, therefore, God's scenario of world history in Daniel 2 that the tyrant withstands in Daniel 3. God's eternal kingdom is declared to come at the end of the whole course of all human superpowers. Trying to seize the prerogatives of God, the tyrant confronts the advent of God's dominion.

The blasphemy of the monarch's revolt becomes clearer when his order to worship the statue is met with a sharp rebuff from the three Jews who are uncompromisingly steadfast to their God. Threatening them with the burning furnace, he haughtily asks whether their God can rescue them from "his dominion"¹⁵⁷ (Dan 3:15). The dictator's overbearing utterance divulges

¹⁵⁵ So Danna Nolan Fewell, *Circles of Sovereignty: Plotting Politics in the Book of Daniel* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1991), 38; Paul L. Redditt, *Daniel* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 64; Valeta, *Lions and Ovens and Visions*, 80; and, Sharon Pace, *Daniel* (Macon: Smyth and Helwys, 2008), 90. This view is traced back to as early as Hippolytus of Rome (c. 220 CE).

¹⁵⁶ Goldingay, *Daniel*, 69, notes that the king's constructing "a real statue ... sought to consolidate the empire that the dream threatened"; Similarly, Fewell, *Circles of Sovereignty*, 41, states that Nebuchadnezzar "has not understood the dream at all ... The narrator's tone ridicules Nebuchadnezzar's misappropriation of the dream."

¹⁵⁷ Aram. "my hands."; On the arrogant character of Nebuchadnezzar, see Judith 3:8, where the king is portrayed as desiring to be a supreme divinity worthy of human adoration.

that his early exaltation of Daniel's God was merely superficial. Previously, the monarch fell on his face and worshipped Daniel, confessing, "Truly, your God is God of gods and Lord of kings" (Dan 2:47). Yet the monarch's savage taunts at the three Judeans betray that his doxology was on the level of lip-service. He only pretended to acknowledge the divine excellence.¹⁵⁸ However, Nebuchadnezzar's resumed defiance to divine authority is always rendered utterly fruitless. As such we see the whole narrative in Daniel 3 sealed with a sardonic irony. The tyrant's arrogant mouth itself issues a solemn decree that anyone who speaks anything blasphemous against the God of the three youths shall be torn limb from limb and his house shall "be made like" (שְׁתִּיּוֹה) dunghill (Dan 3:29). Then the decree turns out to foreshadow the monarch's own mutilation in Daniel 4. There a lofty tree symbolic of Nebuchadnezzar is chopped down and its branches are cut off (Dan 4:14). Evoking the condemned dunghill, the king's mind "is made like" (שְׁוִי) that of an animal (Dan 5:21).

More important, God's sovereignty over Nebuchadnezzar's imperialism is powerfully affirmed by the literary allusion. Through the allusion to Genesis 10 and 11, Daniel 3 depicts how aggressively the despot reinstates the disintegrated collective energy of humankind and consolidates his present imperial domination of all subjects. As examined above, the recurrent expression, "peoples, clans, languages," strongly signals the presence of allusion in Daniel 3. Unfortunately, this vital expression has attracted little attention from scholars. In terms of the relation between Daniel 3 and Daniel 4, some scholars focused on the role that Dan 3:31-33

¹⁵⁸ In the book of Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar's conversion to God is in solemn tone repeated (Dan 2:46-47; 3:28; and 4:31-34). It is no wonder that the recurrence of the monarch's repentance occasioned the rabbis' long discussion of the king's hypocrisy (Matthias Henze, *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar: The Ancient Near Eastern Origins and Early History of Interpretation of Daniel 4* [Leiden: Brill, 1999], 116-121).

plays in the structure of the book.¹⁵⁹ Other than the interests in the structuring role of the expression, some scholars proposed that the expression is an alternate designation of the aforementioned officials.¹⁶⁰ Based on the previous scholarship of the expression, I would like to go further by underscoring how the expression actualizes the Genesis theme of imperialism both in Daniel 3 and in other chapters of Daniel. At first, the great congregation that is called forth by the king to the dedication is introduced as domestic officialdom of Babylon. The vast imperial bureaucracy includes no fewer than seven major separate categories of state officials that are listed in order of superiority: satraps, prefects, governors, counselors, treasurers, judges, and magistrates (Dan 3:2, 3; cf. 27). It is these officials who are convened by the king and thus stand on the plain of Dura. When they all are ready to worship the statue, the herald of the king suddenly labels them as “peoples, clans, and languages” (Dan 3:4). At the very moment the participants in the ceremony are about to obey the command of the king, they are *reidentified* as far more than the *local* dignitaries of the empire (Dan 3:7). As many scholars rightly suggest, the expression “peoples, clans, and languages” refers in principle to the entire inhabitants of the world and is adopted to bestow the assemblage in Dura with the comprehensive nationalities.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ E.g., Agreeing with Hammer, *The Book of Daniel*, 49, Lacocque, *Daniel*, 69, sees Dan 3:31-33 as the opening section of chapter 4. Similarly, Henze, *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar*, 15-16, 24-25, argues that the expression serves to indicate the addressees of the royal epistle of King Nebuchadnezzar, pointing out that the “epistolary prescript” in Dan 3:31-33 should be recognized not as conclusion of chapter 3 but rather as introduction to chapter 4. Following Henze’s lead, Valeta, *Lions and Ovens and Visions*, 87-89 (here, p. 89), holds that “the author or final redactor wished to tie” Daniel 3 and Daniel 4 “together into a unity that the break point was obscure” (p. 89).

¹⁶⁰ E.g., Collins, *Daniel*, 183.

¹⁶¹ So, Fewell, *Circle of Sovereignty*, 40; Meadowcroft, *Aramaic Daniel and Greek Daniel*, 145; Seow, *Daniel*, 54.

Indeed, through the Daniel 3 the tyrant's subjects in Dura are persistently dubbed in such *universal* terms that embrace all of humankind.¹⁶²

However, what deserves our closer attention is that the expression is designed to evoke the tales of Babel in Daniel. At first, it would seem that both “satraps, prefects, governors ...” and “peoples, clans, and languages” refer alternately to the same congregation (Dan 3:2, 3, 4, 7, 27, 29). Thus albeit some tension between one reference to the *limited* numbers of the imperial functionaries and the other reference to the *total* inhabitants of the world, the latter is meant to represent the former within the referential world of Daniel 3.¹⁶³ The text of Daniel 3 does not militate against the possibility of that interpretation. Nevertheless, we are then left with a difficult question. Why in Daniel 3 do the hierarchically organized imperial officials stand for the totality of human beings in the world?¹⁶⁴ Scholars have rightly suggested that banal enumerations of the lengthy political ranks, along with the litanies of the king's order and musical instruments, take on intentional rhetorical overtones in Daniel 3.¹⁶⁵ However, even the

¹⁶² In Daniel, by “peoples, nations, and languages” Nebuchadnezzar and Darius mean the subjects of empire who “live in all the earth” (Dan 3:31 [Eng. 4:1]; 6:26 [Eng. 6:25]). In doing so, both emperors define in common the totality of imperial subjects as humankind itself. Greek Daniel 3 makes sure the point. There Nebuchadnezzar, who governs “cities and regions and all those inhabiting the earth (πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) from India to Ethiopia,” sends to “gather” two separate groups: “all the peoples and clans and languages” and “satraps, commanders, governors and magistrates, administrators and authorities by the region and by the whole inhabited world (πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην)” (OG Dan 3:1-2). OG Daniel 3 clarifies that Nebuchadnezzar's officials are in the world human beings live in. The people present in the ceremony of dedication stand for the whole inhabitants.

¹⁶³ See Collins, *Daniel*, 183; Meadowcroft, *Aramaic Daniel and Greek Daniel*, 145-147, posits the same view by appealing to his reading of OG Daniel 3.

¹⁶⁴ The empire of Nebuchadnezzar is characteristic of its hierarchy. In Daniel 3, “[t]he tedious repetitions ... leave the reader wondering about the hierarchy of significance in this story world of politics and power” (Fewell, *Circle of Sovereignty*, 41).

¹⁶⁵ On the intended stylistic effects through the abundance of verbal repetition in Daniel 3, several suggestions are offered: E.g. (1) Parody (Porteous, *Daniel*, 58; Lacocque, *Daniel*, 59); (2) Comedy (Hector I. Avalos, “The Comedic Function of the Enumerations of Officials and Instruments in Daniel 3,” *CBQ* 53 [1991]: 580-588; cf. For the comic nature of Daniel, see Edwin M. Good, “Apocalyptic as Comedy: The Book of Daniel,” *Semeia* 32 [1985]:41-70; Mary Mills, *Biblical Morality: Moral Perspectives in Old Testament Narratives* [Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001]:210-214); and, (3) Satire

rhetorical artistry of itemizing the king's minions does not explain why in Daniel 3 the officialdom of the Babylonian Empire is the equivalent of all inhabitants of the world.

The best answer may well be offered, I submit, only through the literary allusion that correlates Genesis 10-11 and Daniel 3. In formulating the particular collocation, "peoples, clans, and languages" in Daniel 3, the author adroitly modifies the linguistic properties of an earlier biblical collocation, "according to their clans, according to their languages, in their lands, in their nations" (Gen 10:20, 31; cf. 5, 31). As I show in Charts III and IV, the highly distinctive verbal affinities between the two collocations denote that the collocation in Daniel 3 is modeled on that in Genesis 10.¹⁶⁶ The Danielic collocation may well be regarded as a modified quotation of the collocation in Genesis, as usual in Daniel, without formulaic citation-markers. As soon as the reader recognizes the allusive quality of the collocation that refers the reader to Genesis 10 and 11, the reader begins to understand Daniel 3 from an enlarged referential network between Genesis and Daniel. After being placed in a "field of whispered or unstated correspondences"¹⁶⁷ between the evoked text in Genesis and the alluding text in Daniel, the reader comes to produce meaningful intertextual patterns.

In our understanding the allusion in Daniel 3 to Genesis 10, it is crucial that the reader's recollection of the context in Genesis 10 leads to the reader's recognition of the theologoumena

(Montgomery, *Daniel*, 193; Joyce G. Baldwin, *Daniel* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1978), 102; Valeta, "The Satirical Nature of the Book of Daniel," 91).

¹⁶⁶ By the same token, the style characteristic of rhythmic enumerations in Daniel 3 is highly evocative of the style of Genesis 10, which is also typical of its use of *lists*. Yigal Levin, "From Lists to History: Chronological Aspects of the Chronicler's Genealogies," *JBL* 123/4 (2004): 608, argues that the genealogical accounts in 1 Chronicles 1-9 appropriate earlier material in Genesis 10. The Chronicler may have belonged to the Persian period, from which the narrative section of Daniel, too, is generally understood to have originated. As Coxon, "The 'List' Genre and Narrative Style," 95-98, demonstrated, the use of list in Daniel 3 is widely attested in the literature of the ancient Near East. I would posit that, in terms of the style of listing items, Daniel 3 is in larger part inspired by Genesis 10.

¹⁶⁷ Hollander, *The Figure of Echo*, 112. Hays, *Echoes of Scriptures in the Letters of Paul*, 20.

of imperialism in Genesis. In Genesis 10, a genealogy of the human race falls into three major divisions. There the table of all nations, if not a scientific attempt, evinces the Jewish idea that the three sons of Noah populated the whole earth and formed all the sections of humankind. The roster of the peoples amounts to seventy that is “emblematic of the totality of the human race.”¹⁶⁸ In addition to the symbolic number of seventy, a closing recapitulation of each of the three divisions signifies that all human beings are genealogically descended from Noah “according to their clans, according to their languages, in their lands, in their nations” (Gen 10: 20, 31; cf. 5, 30). The table of nations in Genesis 10 and the tower of Babel in Genesis 11 is inextricably bonded. Accordingly, the Daniel expression, “peoples, clans, and languages,” reminds the reader of the message that the two interwoven chapters in Genesis shape: The grand expansion of humankind according to their familial, linguistic, territorial, and national divisions (Genesis 10) is eventually attributed to God’s chastisement of primordial humankind in Babel (Gen 11:1-9).¹⁶⁹ In Genesis, therefore, the emergence of “peoples, clans, and languages” results from God’s scattering humankind, which is construed as God’s aversion to humankind’s rebellious collective power. The ominous power of humankind is epitomized by Nimrod’s first regime in Babel and the Babelites’ God-defying construction project. Undoubtedly the tyrant of Babel oppressed the

¹⁶⁸ Nahum M. Sarna, *Genesis* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 69. Sarna does not count Nimrod, regarding him as an individual, not a people.

¹⁶⁹ Jack M. Sasson, “The ‘Tower of Babel’ as a Clue to the Redactional Structuring of the Primeval History (Genesis 1:1-11:9),” in *The Bible World: Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon* (ed. G. Rendsburg et al.; New York: KTAV, 1980), 213, rightly notes that “the consequences of the division of mankind (“Table of Nations”) *precede* the occasion in which an explanation is offered for that division (“Tower of Babel”) (emphasis original). Similarly, Allen P. Ross, “Studies in the Book of Genesis Part 4: The Dispersion of the Nations in Genesis 11:1-9,” *BSac* 138/550 (1981), 128-129.

subject people to implement the tower project.¹⁷⁰ By ceasing the project and disbanding all the participants in it, God confronts the imperialistic politics that counters the divine authority.

Activating Genesis 10 in his understanding-procedure of Daniel 3, the Jewish reader could have recalled both the Babel-originated imperial social-structure and God's objection to the human desire for the unlimited power of God. As the narrative in Daniel 3 unfolds, the allusion to Genesis prompts the reader to recognize that Nebuchadnezzar, like early humankind in Babel, covets God's absolute sovereignty and, more interestingly, that the tyrant attempts to cancel God's judgment on the blasphemy of Babel. Apparently, the literary allusion at work here results from the activation of context of the source text in Genesis. As Nebuchadnezzar's herald dubs the imperial officials as "peoples, clans, and languages," Daniel 3 introduces the monarch as the conqueror of the world that Genesis 10 depicts. The multitude that the monarch assembles in Dura turns out to be the descendents of the divinely fragmented human beings that were sprinkled across the whole map of the world.¹⁷¹ In dubbing repeatedly the administrative functionaries of the empire as the all-embracing expression, "peoples, clans, and languages," Daniel 3 inculcates the point that the humankind Genesis 10 depicts is in its entirety controlled by the political system of Nebuchadnezzar. The emperor of the whole world brings them all the way back to their homeland, Babel. Then the plain of Dura, alluding to the plain of Shinar, is exposed to be a place of their reunion for a sinister purpose.¹⁷² Previously, God decentralized the allied energy of the human beings engrossed in Babel of Nimrod. The Jewish exiles, while

¹⁷⁰ Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 240-241. Kugel quotes a midrash: "If anyone fell [from the tower] and died, they would pay no mind to it, but if a brick fell they would weep and say, 'Woe is us! How shall another be raised in its place?'" (p. 241).

¹⁷¹ Steinmann, *Daniel*, 57.

¹⁷² Coxon, "The Great Tree of Daniel 4," 92, remarks the "resurgence of Babel," seeing a connection between Dan 3:31 and Gen 11:7.

deported to Babel, might have seen that Nimrod's successor reversed the divine act by bringing all those local populations together and reviving their collective power in unison.

To cement the unanimity of the subjects of Babel, Nebuchadnezzar deifies the empire through the worship of the statue. The king's golden statue and the ritualistic dedication demonstrate the king's bold efforts to preempt the coming of God's kingdom. This fact makes us observe how the human ambition for the supreme power is transformed from Genesis to Daniel. The architects of Babel longed to elevate their power away from the earth they occupy upward the heavenly realm of God. Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon seeks to preclude God from extending God's rule over the heavenly domain downward to the earth the monarch dominates. Here the human antagonism to the divine imperium is continued from Genesis to Daniel. The transformation occurs as the *collective* desire of postdiluvian humankind is shifted to the *individual* desire of the leader of its posterity. The dark desire in transformation is intensified as Nebuchadnezzar divinizes the imperial political system. To booster political unity of the empire, the monarch compels all his lackeys to devote themselves to his "gods" (Dan 3:12, 14, 18, 28). The tyrant knows well that "religious homogeneity and political autonomy go hand in hand."¹⁷³ In Babel of old the political solidarity is established and preserved through a mammoth-scale building enterprise. By contrast, in Babel of Nebuchadnezzar the *esprit de corps* is portrayed as available only through the collective participation in imperial religion that an individual leader enforces by means of a slaying machine.

Another transformation from Genesis to Daniel aims to criticize Nebuchadnezzar's imperialism. The ritualistic use of the musical signal accords with Nebuchadnezzar's nostalgia for humankind in rebellious unison. Thus, evoking the primordial event of God's mingling of the

¹⁷³ Fewell, *The Circle of Sovereignty*, 40.

common language at Babel, the heir to Nimrod chooses a musical sound as an alternate means of their new mode of communication. Nebuchadnezzar wants to organize all the subjugated populations into a singular aggregation that adores the king's despotism. Such a sinister motive of the monarch in replacing language with music looms large as Daniel 3 repeatedly specifies the exact moment when the congregation is given the royal order to venerate the symbol of the deified empire.¹⁷⁴ Nebuchadnezzar commands his subjects to perform only one single act of falling down before the statue. Moreover, he allows them to do so only at the precisely appointed moment when they must respond to the signal of the musical instruments. For Nebuchadnezzar, the ritualistic music is a powerful tool, with which one same action can be done in one same moment for the sake of one common aim, namely, the human empire.

This powerful cult of imperialism built on vile menace, absolute terror, and drab monotony is ridiculed and satirized in Daniel 3. The account of Babel in Genesis 11 is an exemplary piece of political satire in miniature.¹⁷⁵ It is quite understandable that the critique of imperialism in Daniel 3 elaborates on “a polemic against the empire in Genesis 11.”¹⁷⁶ Appropriating the antecedent satire of Babel, the depiction of the statue-dedication focuses on how seriously the resurgent Babel of Nebuchadnezzar plagues humankind. The Babel, which Nebuchadnezzar reconstructs by means of brutal violence against others and futile confrontation

¹⁷⁴ The synchronicity in which the each member of the congregation worships the statue is articulated by expressions such as “at the moment when” (בְּעֵדְנָא דִּי), “as soon as” (בְּהִי-זְמַנָּא כְּדִי), and “everyone (כָּל-אִנְשֵׁי) who hears the sound” (Dan 3:5, 7, 10, 15).

¹⁷⁵ David Marcus, *From Balaam to Jonah: Anti-Prophetic Satire in the Hebrew Bible* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), points out two satirical elements of the tower of Babel: “fantastic situation” (p. 11) and “irony” (p. 16); More rigorously, Ze’ev Weisman, *Political Satire in the Bible* (SemeiaSt. 32; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998; rev. and trans. from idem, *סטירה פוליטית במקרא* [Jerusalem: Mosad Byalik, 1996]), 39-50. Cassuto, *Genesis: Part II*, 226-230, suggests that the story of Babel in Genesis 11 conveys the Jewish criticism of the Babylonian urban architecture and, more particularly, of “the city of Babylon and to the ziqqurat Etemenanki therein” (here, p. 229).

¹⁷⁶ Lacocque, “Whatever Happened in the Valley of Shinar?” 41.

with God, drives humankind into the greatest absurdities. Although Nebuchadnezzar intends the public cult to promote the like-mindedness of all subjugated populations of the empire, they do not follow voluntarily the direction of the leader. Instead, they move, at best, like a “mindless automaton” that is “pathetic, passive, and gutless,”¹⁷⁷ while rendering their imperial society mechanistic, thoughtless, and grotesque. God gave “human beings wherever they live” to the “hand” of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babel (Dan 2:38). Indeed, in this deteriorated Babel “all the peoples, clans, and languages” fall in the “hands” of the tyrant (Dan 3:7, 15). Ironically, however, they are found unable to give the absolute power to him. Nebuchadnezzar does not know that it is “the Most High” who gives the human realm to whomever the deity wishes (Dan 4:14). As the despot acknowledges later, only the Most High’s “imperium” (עֲלִיּוֹת) is everlasting imperium (Dan 4:34). Imperium itself belongs to God forever, and a human king is allowed to keep it only insofar as God entrusts it to him.

2. Martyrdom as Resistance to Imperialism: Internal Allusion through the Motif of Fire

Daniel 3 mirrors the tumultuous socio-religious setting of the Jewish audience under the persecution of Antiochus IV. This fact becomes clearer by additional interactions between Daniel 3 and Daniel 7. These interactions continuously highlight the theme of divine supremacy over human imperialism. The fall of Judah and devastation of the Jerusalem temple could have occasioned the religious skepticism of God’s covenantal relation with Israel. The skepticism seems to be countered by a faithful confession of the three Jews who choose to die in the furnace of blazing fire. They proclaim to King Nebuchadnezzar that they serve only their God even if God does not save them (Dan 3:18). Given that the book of Daniel reached its present form

¹⁷⁷ Avalos, “The Comedic Function of the Enumeration,” 584.

around the end of the Maccabean revolt, possibly in the year 164 BCE,¹⁷⁸ Daniel 3 needs to be read against the background of the Jewish non-violent resistance to Antiochus IV Epiphanes. When the Seleucid emperor persecuted the Jewish remnant and desecrated the Jerusalem temple, stories and visions in Daniel could encourage the Jewish subjugated to keep loyal to God.

This exhortative function of the narrative in Daniel 3 is exemplified in the motif of fire. In the scene of God's miraculous rescue the three saints are portrayed as walking in the midst of the fire together with a mysterious "fourth" figure (Dan 3:25).¹⁷⁹ The depiction of the fourth in Daniel 3 anticipates that of its counter figure, an awe-inspiring "fourth" beast in Daniel 7 (Dan 7:7). If the fourth in Daniel 3 embodies the divine protection, the fourth in Daniel 7 personifies destroying power *par excellence*. The deliberate contrast between these two fourths serves to foreground the theme of God's victory over human imperialism. The art of repetition operating between the two chapters well highlights the theme. At first, the fourth beast is introduced as a peerless destroyer. It surpasses the preceding three terrible beasts that represent earthly imperial regimes. This fourth beast devours its prey, crushes it with great iron teeth, and tramples the remainder with its feet (Dan 7:7). The beast's extreme monstrosity is encapsulated by its incomparability: It is "different" (שְׁנֵה) from all the beasts that precede it (Dan 7:7, 19, 23). But as soon as the reader discovers that the fourth beast differs in many ways from the three Jewish youths, its peerlessly frightening images expose its decisive weakness. In the vision the fourth beast is slain and "its body" (גִּשְׁמָהּ) is hurled "to the burning fire" (לִיקְדַּת אֵשׁ) (Dan 7:7, 11). This scene implies that the fourth beast is punished and killed by God, for in the vision a stream

¹⁷⁸ Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 24-38; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 326-327; and, Seow, *Daniel*, 7-9.

¹⁷⁹ This scene deals exegetically with Isaiah 43:2, "when you walk through fire you shall not be burned and the flame shall not consume you." For a fine discussion, see Lester, "Daniel Evokes Isaiah," 173-182.

of fire flows out from God's presence (Dan 7:10). Here, the God who casts the fourth beast into fire is analogous to Nebuchadnezzar who does the same action to God's saints. This parallel between God and Nebuchadnezzar leads to a contrast between the fourth figure of God and the fourth empire of humankind: while the divine fourth in Daniel 3 perfectly protects God's saints from the fire of Nebuchadnezzar, even the strongest, the fourth empire in Daniel 7 is utterly consumed by the fire of God. In Daniel 3 the three pious Jews are cast "into the furnace of blazing fire" (לֹא־תִנּוּן נִרְאָה יְקָדְחָא) (Dan 3:20). What happens to their bodies? The "fire" did not have any power over "their bodies" (נִשְׁמָהוֹן) (Dan 3:27). While the body of the "extremely" (יְתִירָא) strong beast is consumed in fire, the bodies of the saints remain alive in the "extremely" (יְתִירָא) heated furnace (Dan 3:22; 7:7). Indeed, the saints' imperviousness to fire is repeatedly stressed in Daniel 3. Astonished at the scene of those four figures walking about in the midst of the fire, Nebuchadnezzar says that "they are not hurt" (Dan 3:25). Being together with the fourth divine figure whose semblance is like a "son of gods" is proven to make the saints enjoy the divine protection in the fire. When they come out of the fire, all the monarch's officials see that even their tunics were not "different" (שְׁנָה) (Dan 3:27). Finally, the royal persecutor declares why they are not different: God protects them because they "disobey" (שְׁנָה) the rebellious emperor's decree (Dan 3:28).

Let me take this a further step to depict the contrast between the three saints and the fourth beast. This contrast is elegantly developed to represent a contrast between the audience of Daniel and its Syrian persecutor. In the vision of the four beasts in Daniel 7 the Seleucid tyrant is envisaged as one of the fourth beast's horns. The horn wages a great war with and prevails over the saints of the Most High (7:21). Like the fourth beast, the Syrian persecutor, designated the horn, is "different" (שְׁנָה) from all his previous rivals (Dan 7:24). However, unlike the three

pious Jews who can disobey the earthly emperor, this rebellious king, Antiochus IV, cannot defy the heavenly emperor. Thus, oppressing the saints of the Most High, Antiochus IV aspires to “change” (שנה) the time that God already appointed. In doing so, the despot perhaps tries to prolong his domination over God’s people. But when the divinely appointed time comes, Antiochus IV is announced to be shattered by the “Prince of princes” (Dan 8:25). This invincible divine warrior is revealed as God in the historical apocalypse in Daniel 11. There Antiochus IV speaks horrendous things against the “God of gods,” but only until the things God predetermines are completed (Dan 11:36). Moreover, just like the atrocious fourth beast, Antiochus IV was a terrifying despot. He drove the populations of Jerusalem and Judea into absolute terror through “massacre, abduction, home invasion, and plunder of the temple, as well as through the spectacular display of imperial might.”¹⁸⁰

In Daniel 3, the blazing furnace of Nebuchadnezzar functions as transcendental space, in which the three saints and the mysterious fourth enjoy the divine protection. Likewise, during the sweep of the atrocious despotism of Antiochus IV, the fiery suffering is understood as a chance of transformation in which the faithful saints of God and their self-sacrificial leaders (*maskilim*) could be refined, purged, and purified (Dan 11:35). As well reflected in the image of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 3, Antiochus IV imposed the imperial worship and the Greek lifestyle on the second century B.C.E. Jews in Palestine.¹⁸¹ How did the Jewish audience of Daniel react to the socio-religious threat by Antiochus IV? Reading Daniel 3 in light of Daniel 11 and 12, we

¹⁸⁰ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse against Empire*, 142. On “Seleucid state terror,” see pp. 140-175.

¹⁸¹ Cf. 1 Macc 1:41-43, “Then the king wrote to his whole kingdom that all should be one people (λαός εἷς), and that all should give up their particular customs (νόμιμα). All the Gentiles accepted the command of the king. Many even from Israel gladly adopted his religion (λατρεία). They sacrificed to idols and profaned the sabbath.” On this politics of Antiochus IV, see R.H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), 315; and, Lacocque, *Daniel*, 60.

know that the persecuted Jews find their divine security not in this turbulent world but rather in their glorious resurrection beyond this world.¹⁸² For those faithful martyrs, what matters was the time that God predestined.¹⁸³ They knew that their suffering would continue only until “the time of the end,” that is, “the appointed time” (Dan 11:35). The *maskilim* made a multitude of their contemporary Jews understand what they understood regarding the appointed time. As I argued above for the prevalence of the opportunism in second century Judea, facing Antiochus IV’s seduction of the Israelites and his desecration of the Jerusalem temple, some Israelites follow the direction of the *maskilim*, but some reject.¹⁸⁴ The followers of the *maskilim*, along with their righteous teachers, are slain by “flame” (לֶהָבֵה) of Antiochus IV (Dan 11:33).¹⁸⁵ This particular historical situation is unmistakably mirrored in Daniel 3, where the three pious Jews, together with their divine protector, are depicted as surviving the blazing fire of Nebuchadnezzar. Both the saints with the fourth divine being and the saints with the *maskilim* enter the imperial fire, while at the same time looking forward to the advent of the divine empire. In this regard, Daniel’s three companions and the one like a divine being in the fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 3 are the precursors of the Jewish martyrs and their leaders under the fiery persecution of Antiochus IV in Daniel 11, respectively. The inner-dynamics of the literary

¹⁸² Lacocque, *ibid*, 70, lucidly states that Daniel chapter 3 is “a parallel to chapter 12 ... it (chapter 3) was ‘modernized’ so as to be readable by the persecuted under Antiochus Epiphanes,” agreeing with A. von Gall and J. Steinmann (addition mine).

¹⁸³ Robert A. Anderson, *Signs and Wonders: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Grand Rapids: WM.B. Eerdmans, 1984), 31.

¹⁸⁴ John Calvin, *Book of the Prophet Daniel, Vol II* (Grand Rapids: WM.B. Eerdmans, 1948), 327, points out two different groups: “the multitude of apostates” and “the existence of some of an opposite character.” As to the latter group, Calvin explains that “some wise men among people ... taught the truth, and God joined a party with them” (p. 327). For a discussion of the social setting of Judea reflected in Daniel 11, see Daewoong Kim, “Wisdom and Apocalyptic in 2 Baruch,” *Henoch* 33/2 (2011): 260-263.

¹⁸⁵ On the Danielic image of purifying flame, see Isa 4:4-5, where God shines a flaming fire over Zion, washes away the filth of her daughters, and purges the bloodshed of Jerusalem.

allusion, in which Daniel 3 interacts with Daniel 7 and Daniel 10-12, demonstrates how Daniel is “completely focused on imperial politics and its implications for political-religious life in Judea.”¹⁸⁶ In short, the elaboration of the motif of fire throughout Daniel is devoted to showing how seriously Daniel shapes a political critique of rebellious imperialism and aspires for the eschatological advent of divine politics.

D. The Exegetical Stream of Allusion: Anti-imperialism in Daniel and Its Literary History

The principle of imperium is reaffirmed in Daniel’s apocalyptic vision of the four beasts in Daniel 7. There imperium is “given” to and “taken away” from the earthly kings, but is ultimately “given” to the “one like a son of man” (Dan 7:6, 12, 14). The enthroned God, “the Ancient One,” which is another title for the Most High to whom Nebuchadnezzar ascribes the eternal imperium in Daniel 3, finally grants “imperium” to the humanlike figure (Dan 3:33; 7:13). Now, imperium is never taken away from him (Dan 7:14). This means that the humanlike divine being alone can hold God’s imperium forever. It is precisely, in this moment that humankind is liberated from imperialism eagerly sought by those bestial earthly monarchs. In Daniel 3 “all peoples, clans, and languages” are mustered to “serve” (פִּלַח) the symbol of the imperial power of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan 3:12, 14, 17, 18, 28). The situation fundamentally changes. From this moment on, “all peoples, clans, and languages” “serve” (פִּלַח) the divinely ordained liberator, whose imperium is an “everlasting imperium” (Dan 7:14). In this way, therefore, the ideological critique of imperialism evolving around the allusive expression in Daniel 3 becomes the

¹⁸⁶ Richard A. Horsley, “The Politics of Cultural Production in Second Temple Judea: Historical Context and Political-Religious Relations of the Scribes who Produced 1 Enoch, Sirach, and Daniel,” in *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism* (ed. Benjamin G. Wright III and Lawrence M. Wills; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 142.

apocalyptic idealism of the emergence of God's empire in Daniel 7. The closing stage of the world history of political hegemony is reserved exclusively for the divine empire that "the holy people of the Most High will receive" (Dan 7:18).¹⁸⁷

In Daniel the withdrawal of imperium to God leads to the apocalyptic vision of God's empire, where only God's saints will dwell. This apocalyptic idea, too, recurs in Revelation, where the vision of the divine empire is further underscored. In Daniel 3 Nebuchadnezzar's "herald" cries aloud to all "peoples, clans, and languages" at the moment they all stand before the statue (Dan 3:4). The loud voice of the king's herald forces them to worship the human empire. In Revelation, a countless multitude chosen from "clans, peoples, and languages" (φυλῶν καὶ λαῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν) raises its harmonious voice of their own volition (Rev 7:10). Especially, the chosen multitude turns out to stand not before the statue in Dura but rather before the enthroned sovereign in heaven—the deity whose salvific power Nebuchadnezzar despises in his taunt at the three Jewish saints: "Salvation to our God who sits on the throne!" (Dan 3:15; Rev 7:10). In elaborating on the theme of imperium that Daniel develops through its allusion to Genesis, Revelation stresses Christ's redemption of the saints. Daniel reports that "the

¹⁸⁷ The Danielic eschatological vision of the empire of God is so important that it is formative in the Christian perspective of the Roman imperialism. In resemblance to the one like a son of man in Daniel 7, Christ is depicted as inheriting God's imperium. The idea is encapsulated in the proclamation of the heavenly loud voices: "The empire of the world (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου) has become the empire of our Lord and his Messiah, and he will have imperium (βασιλεύσει) forever and ever" (Rev 11:15). βασιλεύσει is "the Greek equivalent of the Latin imperium" (Wes Howard-Brook and Anthony Gwyther, *Unveiling Empire: Reading Revelation Then and Now* [Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1999], 224). In the synoptic gospels the Messiah Jesus means 'empire' by the term "βασιλεία." Thus, when Jesus used the term to refer to God's reign, he knew that the Roman Empire adopted the same term to depict itself (Stephen J. Patterson, "The End of Apocalypse: Rethinking the Eschatological Jesus," *TT* 52 [1995], 44). Based on the tradition of imperium in Daniel, the term "Babel (Babylon)" employed in Revelation refers to "the empire of the world" (Rev 14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2, 10, 21). Therefore, Revelation, like Daniel, formulates the political eschatology: the world-wide imperium is transferred away from the mundane superpower to the celestial Emperor and his filial "co-regent," the "King of kings and Lord of lords" (Rev 17:14; 19:16). See Stephen D. Moore, *Empires and Apocalypse: Postcolonialism and the New Testament* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 99.

saints” take possession of the divine “empire” (מְלְכוּתָא; βασιλεία) (MT/OG/Th. Dan 7:22).

The visionary report is repeated by an angelic interpreter: the divine “empire” (מְלְכוּתָא;

βασιλεία) (MT/OG Dan 7:27), along with dominion and the magnificence of the “empires”

(מְלְכוּת; βασιλείας) (MT/Th. Dan 7:27) under the whole heaven, shall be granted to the people

of the saints of God.¹⁸⁸ In Daniel 7 it is evident that the saints *receive* the divine empire.¹⁸⁹ In

Revelation 5 we see a modified version of the Danielic divine empire. There the saints not so

much *receive* the divine empire but *constitute* it by themselves. The Messiah makes them do the

role. This new aspect of the divine empire is conceptualized as Revelation continues the Danielic

throne scene to highlight the Messiah’s authoritative role. Evoking the opened “books” (סְפָרִין;

βιβλοι) in the vision of the enthroned Ancient One, the Messiah, who appears as a lamb slain

yet standing, takes a sealed “book” (βιβλίον) from the deity (Rev 5:1; Dan 7:10). Then the

Messiah is praised for his purchasing the saints from every “clan and language and people and

nation” (φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους) (Rev 5:9).¹⁹⁰ Finally, the Messiah

makes the ransomed multitude become God’s “empire” (βασιλεία), so that they “will have

imperium” (βασιλεύσουσιν) (Rev 5:9-10).¹⁹¹ In Daniel 7 the saints are depicted *passive*. They

receive the divine empire from their savior. In Revelation 5 the saints play a more *active* role. In

¹⁸⁸ Modern translators do not clearly distinguish between “מְלְכוּ” and “שְׁלִטָּה” (Dan 7:27). For example, in Dan 7:27 the translators of NRSV render the two Aramaic terms as “kingship” (מְלְכוּ) and “dominion” (שְׁלִטָּה), thus seeing them as synonymous. Elsewhere, by contrast, they distinguish the same terms: “kingdom (מְלְכוּ)... sovereignty (שְׁלִטָּה) (Dan 4:3) and “everlasting sovereignty (שְׁלִטָּה), and his kingdom (מְלְכוּ)” (Dan 4:31). As in almost every place in Aramaic Daniel, the term מְלְכוּ is to be taken to refer to “kingdom/empire” rather than “kingship/sovereignty.” Translators of OG/Th. Daniel, too, distinguished both terms, rendering מְלְכוּ as βασιλεία and שְׁלִטָּה as ἐξουσία (OG Dan 4:34c; Th. Dan 4:31). See Ziegler and Munnich, *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*, 305-306. In my analysis of Aramaic Daniel I take מְלְכוּ to be a more distinctively political term, “empire.”

¹⁸⁹ But Dan 7:14 depicts the one like a son of man as receiving from God the divine empire, while identifying him with the saints in Dan 7:22, 27.

¹⁹⁰ Syr. “all clans and peoples and nations” (ܐܠܝܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ).

¹⁹¹ On the translation, see Howard-Brook and Gwyther, *Unveiling Empire*, 225.

the eschatological course of the divine empire the saints themselves *occupy* it. The Messiah empowers them to do so.

Let me take this one step further by proposing that Genesis is a biblical source of this kind of apocalyptic conceptualization of imperialism. Additional, broader interactions between Genesis and Daniel may well reveal that the apocalyptic theology of the divine sovereignty over human imperialism retains its deeper root in the theology of Genesis. Daniel 3 sharply contrasts God's three saints with Nebuchadnezzar's whole subordinates. In Daniel 3 "all peoples, clans, and languages" play the despot's subjects (Dan 3:7). Functioning as a complex marker that alludes to the table of nations in Genesis 10 and the cause of their appearance in Genesis 11, they are characterized in Daniel 3 as the entire humanity that slavishly submits itself to its wicked political leader. They "fall down and worship" the statue, an emblem of the imperialism the leader champions, overwhelmed by the leader's violent coercion through a furnace of burning fire (Dan 3:5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 15). Only the three Jews differ from them. When all succumbs to Nebuchadnezzar-advocated imperialism and the despot's fiery weapon alike, the three saints, ready to die for fidelity to their God, do not dread to be hurled into flames. Thus, facing the king's threat, they retort: "O Nebuchadnezzar, we have no need to present a defense to you in this matter. If our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the furnace of blazing fire and out of your hand, O king, let him deliver us. But if not, be it known to you, O king, that we will not "serve" your gods and we will not "worship" the golden statue that you have set up" (Dan 3:16-18). Their terse, outright speech rejecting Nebuchadnezzar's order, too, distinguishes them from the imperial minions, whose actions are fettered by a series of monotonous repetitions.¹⁹²

¹⁹² See Fewell, *Circle of Sovereignty*, 48-49; Valeta, *Lions and Ovens and Visions*, 81.

This marked antithesis between the saints of God and the worshippers of empire in Daniel 3 flows from the immediate literary context that surrounds the pericope of Babel in Genesis 11. It is instructive that, in the wider context, the architects of the tower and Abraham called by God are diametrically opposed.¹⁹³ The tower builders are introduced as postdiluvian people who migrate from the east and settle in the land of Shinar (Gen 11:2). While they move on their own will, Abraham is guided by God in his journey. Thus, commanded by God, the patriarch leaves his Babylonian hometown, “Ur of the Chaldea,” and migrates westward until “Canaan,” an opposite direction to the Shinar (Gen 11:31; 12:1).¹⁹⁴ They choose the land that they “find,” whereas Abraham is chosen by God to live in the land that God “shows” to him (Gen 11:2; 12:1). The deliberate contrast between them is dramatically heightened by the motif of name. As pointed out in my discussion of the introductory section of Daniel, the motif of name shapes the conflict between God’s name involving Jerusalem and the architects’ name involving Babel. Analogously, a strong contrast is drawn between Abraham’s name and the architects’ name. The tower-builders wish to make a “name” for themselves (Gen 11:4). Abraham, too, makes a name, but it is not Abraham but God who magnifies the “name” of Abraham (Gen 12:2). The architects become a divine disaster to the world when “in Babel”¹⁹⁵ God confuses the language of “all the earth” (Gen 11:9). By contrast, Abraham, God’s solution to the disaster, becomes a divine blessing to the world when God announces that “in

¹⁹³ José Míguez-Bonino, “Genesis 11:1-9: A Latin American Perspective,” in *Return to Babel: Global Perspective on the Bible* (ed. John R. Levison and Priscilla Pope-Levison; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999), 15-16, rightly states that “[t]his context suggests that God’s intention is a diverse humanity that can find its unity not in the domination of one city, or one language but in the ‘blessing for all the families of the earth’ (Genesis 12:3).” (italics original).

¹⁹⁴ Lacocque, “Whatever Happen in the Valley of Shinar?” 32-33.

¹⁹⁵ Heb. שָׁמָּה (there).

Abraham”¹⁹⁶ “all the clans of the earth” will be blessed (Gen 12:3). If the people of Babel initiate the history of human imperialism, God’s election of Abraham that is immediately followed by the tragic event can be said to inaugurate a counter history of the divine liberation of humanity from imperialism.¹⁹⁷ In sum, the Danielic contrast between the saints of God and the worshippers of empire is based on the contrast that Genesis draws between their father chosen by God and their ancestors governed by Nimrod.¹⁹⁸

The contrast in transmission from Genesis to Daniel may well be further supported in ancient Jewish interpretations of Daniel 3. In forging the thematic contrast between Abraham and Nimrod, they witness the connection between Genesis and Daniel. The contrast between God’s Abraham and Nimrod’s architects is so prominent that the ancient exegetes could see the pericope of Babel in Genesis 11 as “the Hebrew’s assessment of mankind’s history previous to the election of Abraham as the first patriarch of God’s chosen people.”¹⁹⁹ Thus the earliest interpreters characterize Nimrod, who is the representative of depraved postdiluvian humankind, as a threatening antagonist of Abraham, who is chosen to be the womb of God’s people. For them, Abraham is nemesis to Nimrod. In *Sefer ha-Yashar*, for example, Nimrod tries to kill

¹⁹⁶ Heb. *אַתָּה* (in you).

¹⁹⁷ So Ernst Haag, *Daniel* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1993), 24, states that “Schinar ist nach der biblischen Urgeschichte das Land, wo sich der ‘Anfang’ einer Weltherrschaft mit Babel als deren Träger (Gen 10:10) und auch der Gegenpol zu der mit der Erwählung Abrahams beginnenden Heilsgeschichte gebildet hat (Gen 12:2).” For a rigorous discussion, see idem, “Israles Exil im Lande Schinar: Beobachtungen zu Daniel 1,1-2,” in *Christlicher Glaube und säkulares Denken: Festschrift zum 50. Jahrestag der Wiedererrichtung der Theologischen Fakultät Trier 1950-2000* (TTS 65; ed. Theologischen Fakultät Trier; Trier: Paulinus, 2000), 47-49.

¹⁹⁸ John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Prophet Daniel Vol. 1* (Grand Rapids: WM.B. Eerdmans, 1948), 210, notes that the statue-worship Nebuchadnezzar sanctions particularly aims to Jews and the despot “wished to cause *the sons of Abraham* to lay aside sincere piety” (emphasis mine).

¹⁹⁹ Sasson, “The ‘Tower of Babel’ as a Clue to the Redactional Structuring of the Primeval History (Genesis 1:1-11:9),” 213.

Abraham the infant, regarding him as a future danger to his absolute rule.²⁰⁰ The fear of the founding king of Babel is proved true. He brings millions of postdiluvian people to Babylonia and instigates them to construct a tower. They make bricks with a limekiln. Abraham, together with other eleven pious men, refuses to join them. They are seized by the tower-builders and brought to their chiefs. Here, Abraham takes on the image of the three pious men in confrontation with King Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 3. In language reminiscent of that of the three saints before Nebuchadnezzar in Dan 3:17-18, Abraham and his companions declare: “We will not cast bricks with you, nor are we joining in your wishes. We know only the Lord, and him we serve. Even if you cast us into the fire with your bricks, we will not assent to you” (Non mittimus vobiscum lapides, nec coniungimur voluntati vestre. Unum Doninum novimus, et ipsum adoramus. Et si nos mittatis in ignem cum lapidibus vestris, non consentiemus vobis) (L.A.B. 6.4).²⁰¹ In a Targum tradition the reaction of Nimrod to Abraham is parallel to that of Nebuchadnezzar to the three pious Jews. In Daniel Nebuchadnezzar gives orders to “cast” (רמה) the three saints into the “furnace of blazing fire” (אֶתֹּן נֹרָא יְקָדְתָּא), but “the fire had no power” (לֹא־שָׁלַט נֹרָא) over their bodies (Dan 3:20, 21, 27). Evoking the monarch and God’s protection of them, a Targumist bestows Nebuchadnezzar’s image of a rebel against God upon his predecessor Nimrod: Like Nebuchadnezzar, “Nimrod cast (רמא) Abraham into the furnace of fire (אֶתֹּנָא דְנֹרָא) ... but the fire had no power (לֹא הוּוּ רִשׁוּתָא לְנֹרָא) to burn him” (Tg. Ps.-

²⁰⁰ For Hebrew text, see Lazarus Goldschmidt, *Sepher hajaschar-Das Heldenbuch: Sagen, Berichte und Erzählungen aus der israelitischen Urzeit* (Berlin: Benjamin Harz, 1923), 24-25. For English translation, see Mordecai Manual Noah, ed., *The Book of Jasher* (New York: M.M. Noah and A.S. Gould, 1840), 19-21; and, Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), 68-69. *Sepher ha-Yashar*, though written no earlier than 11th century AD, “preserves a valuable amount of pre-Tannaitic exegetical traditions” (Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 95).

²⁰¹ On this scene, see Howard Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo’s Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum. vol. 1* (AGAJU 31; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 8, 98; and, Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 175-176.

J. Gen 11:28).²⁰² In a similar vein, the Targumist skillfully invests the Jewish three men's image of loyalty to God with their ancestor Abraham. Just as the three faithful youths "do not serve" Nebuchadnezzar's "gods" (לֹא פִלְחִין לְאֱלֹהֵי נְבֻכַדְנֶצְצַר),²⁰³ so Abraham "does not serve Nimrod's idol" (לֹא פִלַח לְטִעוּתִיהָ)²⁰⁴ (*Dan* 3:12; cf. 3:14, 18; *Tg. Ps.-J. Gen* 11:28). The parallel between Nimrod's idol and Nebuchadnezzar's gods may well suggest that the Targumic interpreter understood the statue Nebuchadnezzar erects to be an idol. The statue-worship that Nebuchadnezzar enforces on all his subordinates in *Daniel* 3 shows how imperialism is divinized in ancient human society. The Targumist condemns the participation in the cult of imperialism as idolatry, a fundamental betrayal of the holy covenant with God.

I would posit that the Targumic interpretation of imperialism as blasphemy is well consonant with the Danielic view of political opportunism as apostasy. There an opportunistic Jewish group that sides with Antiochus IV stands in stark contrast with the three godly Jews who resist Nebuchadnezzar. In the historical apocalypse in *Daniel* 11, desolating the Jerusalem temple of God, the Syrian emperor magnifies himself above the "God of gods" and, instead, "honors a god of fortress" (*Dan* 11:36, 38). In doing so, Antiochus IV shows regard for Jews who forsake the holy covenant (*Dan* 11:30). In response, some Jews "act wickedly against the covenant" (*Dan*

²⁰² A Targumic tradition that Nimrod casts Abraham into a furnace of fire recurs. It identifies Amraphel of Shinar as Nimrod, and Pharaoh as a son of Nimrod (*Tg. Ps.-J. Gen* 14:1; 16:5). A similar stream of interpretation is found in *Gen. Rab.* 38.13 (Cf. *Tg. Qoh.* 4:13). There Nimrod says to Abraham, "I will cast you to it [fire], then let your God whom you worship come into it and save you from it" (משליכך בו ויבוא אלהיך שאתה משתחוה לו ויצילך ממנו). But Abraham is saved: "Abram went down into the burning furnace and was saved" (ירד אברם לכבשן האש ונוצל). For the text, see J. Theodor and Ch. Albeck, *Midrash Bereshit Rabba: Critical Edition with notes and Commentary Vol. 1* (2nd ed.; Jerusalem: Wahrman Books, 1965), 363-364. *L.A.B.* 6.16-18, too, shows Abraham's rescue from the fiery furnace. There Nimrod is among the persecutors of Abraham. But it is not Nimrod but Joktan who throws him to the furnace.

²⁰³ lit. "they do not serve your gods"

²⁰⁴ lit. "he did not serve his idol."

11:30, 32). These treacherous Jews, designated “many,” appear to insincerely join Antiochus IV’s “military forces”²⁰⁵ that desecrate the sanctuary of the Jerusalem temple (Dan 11:31, 34). Why do they do so? This Jewish opportunistic multitude is revealed as coveting imperialistic benefits such as honor, wealth, and political authority, all of which the Seleucid Emperor offers only to those who “acknowledge” him (Dan 11:39).²⁰⁶ Taken this way, Daniel’s three comrades can be said to enact a pious model that is designed to embolden the Jewish audience of Daniel to keep *politically* loyal to God in defiance to the seductive imperialism of Antiochus IV.

IV. Literary Allusions to Genesis 10-11 in Daniel 4

The fourth chapter of Daniel presents the second dream of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan 4:1-24) and the actual fulfillment of the dream (Dan 4:25-30). In terms of structure, the royal dreamer’s two doxologies constitute the beginning (Dan 3:31-33) and the ending of the narrative in Daniel 4 (Dan 4:31-34). The introductory doxology in Dan 3:31-33, functioning as a transitional unit that connects Daniel 3 and Daniel 4, assumes the form of an epistolary prescript. There Nebuchadnezzar specifies the addressees of his biographical story: “peoples, clans, and languages” (Dan 3:31). The identity of the addressees of the royal decree suggests the conversion of Nebuchadnezzar’s perspective of politics. In Daniel 3, as I discussed above, “peoples, clans, and languages” play the assemblage that blindly worships the statue the monarch erects. Simultaneously, the allusion in Daniel to Genesis characterizes them as the totality of humankind

²⁰⁵ Heb. זָרָעִים. In Daniel 11 this term is recurrently adopted to refer to military forces (Dan 11:15, 22, 31; Cf. Ezek 30:22, 24).

²⁰⁶ For this wicked multitude in Daniel, see André Lacocque, “The Sociospiritual Formative Milieu of the Daniel Apocalypse,” in *The Book of Daniel: In the Light of New Findings* (ed. A.S. van der Woude; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 325; and, Kim, “Wisdom and Apocalyptic,” 263. Political opportunism is also attested in 2nd century Samaritan society. See Wayne A. Brindle, “The Origin and History of the Samaritans,” *GTJ* 5/1 (1984): 47-75.

enslaved by the imperialism that defies the sovereignty of God. Compelling the whole subordinates to devote themselves to the cultic imperialism, the tyrant instigates a collective revolt against the divine author of the world-dominion. In Daniel 4, however, Nebuchadnezzar is radically different. Praising God's great signs and mighty wonders, he confesses that God's empire is everlasting and God's imperium is eternal (Dan 3:33-34; 4:31).²⁰⁷ Read in light of Daniel 3, therefore, the opening and the closing doxologies function to clarify that Emperor Nebuchadnezzar renounces his former claim to imperium.

In Daniel 4 the monarch proclaims to his subjects how his madness and the subsequent recovery transform him. Nebuchadnezzar, a faithful proselyte, wants to explain how the God in heaven brought him under the divine full control. In his nocturnal vision the monarch sees an enormously tall tree, whose location is the "center of the earth" and whose crown "reaches to heaven" (Dan 4:7-8). Suddenly, however, a heavenly messenger makes an appearance, while commanding that the tree be felled except for its stump with its roots (Dan 4:12). The tree is shown to refer to a human being. Thus, the celestial messenger continues to bid: "Let his mind be changed from that of a human, and let the mind of an animal be given to him" (Dan 4:13). It has been widely recognized that the account of the dream vision of Nebuchadnezzar is interwoven with multiple threads of early traditions. Examples are numerous. The site of the tree, the "center of the earth," is frequently construed to envision the image of cosmic tree as *axis mundi* that is widely attested in ancient religions.²⁰⁸ Particularly, the personification of the tree as

²⁰⁷ W. Sibley Towner, "The Poetic Passages of Daniel 1-6," *CBQ* 31/3 (1969):321, points out that Dan 3:33b and 4:31b resemble Ps 145:13a ("Your kingdom is an everlasting kingdom and your dominion endures throughout all generations").

²⁰⁸ Lacocque, *Daniel*, 73. On the imagery, see Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1958), 298-300; and, G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* (trans. J.E. Turner; London: George Allen & Unwin LTD, 1938), 55-58. Stephen L. Cook, "Mythological Discourse in Ezekiel and Daniel and the Rise of Apocalypticism in Israel," in *Knowing the End from the*

the monarch echoes motif of the Assyrian tree of life.²⁰⁹ The Babylonian images are also distinctive: “the cosmic tree providing shelter for the sun and the moon, the tree’s stump being bound with fetters of iron and bronze, and most prominently, perhaps, the metamorphosis of the king into an animal.”²¹⁰ The recent archeological discoveries involving King Nabonidus of the Neo-Babylon cast fresh light on the interpretation of Daniel 4.²¹¹ In a similar vein, the parallels between the Prayer of Nabonidus from Qumran (4Q242 or 4QPrNab ar) and the insanity of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel have been explored.²¹² However, discrepancies are so prevailing that there is no probability of a direct textual interdependency between the works.²¹³

The realm of the prophetic tradition in the Hebrew Bible offers several closer analogies. An allegorical presentation of a lofty cedar in Ezekiel 31 is in many aspects comparable to the presentation of the huge tree in Daniel 4.²¹⁴ Especially, super political entities such as Assyria and the Egyptian pharaoh are likened to the cedar tree, whose “top is among the clouds” (Ezek 31:3, 10, 14). In Daniel 4, the imperial tree-symbolism is focused on an individual emperor, whose uncurbed hubris is condemned and punished by God. Further allegory in Ezekiel 19,

Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and their Relationships (ed. Lester L. Grabbe and Robert D. Haak; JSPPSup 46; London: T & T Clark International, 2003), 97-103, holds the view that the image of the cosmic tree in Daniel 4 witnesses a developing apocalypticism differing from Ezek 31.

²⁰⁹ Simo Parpola, “The Assyrian Tree of Life: Tracing the Origins of Jewish Monotheism and Greek Philosophy,” *JNES* 52/3 (1993):167.

²¹⁰ Henze, *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar*, 73-74.

²¹¹ See John J. Collins, “Prayer of Nabonidus,” in *Qumran Cave 4, XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. J.C. VanderKam; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 83-94.

²¹² E.g., Lawrence M. Wills, *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King: Ancient Jewish Court Legends* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 90-98; and, Peter W. Flint, “The Daniel Tradition at Qumran,” in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception Vol II* (ed. John J. Collins and idem; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 332-338.

²¹³ Henze, *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar*, 63-73 (esp. 68).

²¹⁴ See Helge S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and the Son of Man* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988), 476-480.

which is reminiscent of that in Ezekiel 31, provides another tree-image similar to that in Daniel 4. Israel's dynasty is metaphorically termed a grapevine, whose stem "towered aloft among the thick clouds" but "was cast upon the ground" (Ezek 19:11-12). Elsewhere in Ezekiel, a taunt-song against the king of Babylon in Isaiah 14 deserves our attention. There "Son of Dawn" wants to "ascend to above the heights of the clouds" to rival "the Most High" but it ends with being "brought down to Sheol" (Isa 14:12, 14-15).

A. Main Signs of Allusion

All these remarkable commonalities notwithstanding, neither Ezekiel nor Isaiah can be regarded as source of the dream vision in Daniel 4. Considered only in terms of the image of tree, the depiction of Assur in Ezekiel 31 appears to be the closest analogue to that of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 4.²¹⁵ Probably, the arboreal image of the imperial power that Ezekiel 31 paints influenced its similar use in Daniel 4. What holds true simultaneously, however, is that both the human overweening pride and the subsequent divine punishment are in one or another way recurrent in these prophetic texts and Daniel 4 alike. It is thus likely that all these texts draw upon a common motif. What is the biblical source of the common motif? As some scholars rightly argued, the motif by which both Daniel and Ezekiel depict the human hubris and the divine discipline may well be traced all the way back to the Pentateuchal tradition of the tower of Babel (Gen 11:1-9).²¹⁶ In reality, the narrative in Daniel 4 inherits multiple elements from the satirical portraiture

²¹⁵ So Mathias Delcor, *Le Livre de Daniel* (Paris: J. Gabalda et C^{ie} Éditeurs, 1971), 112, 114; and, Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 77.

²¹⁶ So Louis F. Hartman, "The Great Tree and Nabuchodonosor's Madness," in *The Bible in Current Catholic Thought* (ed. John L. McKenzie, S.J.; New York: Herder and Herder, 1962), 78; and, Alexander A. Di Lella, "Daniel 4:7-14: Poetic Analysis and Biblical Background," in *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M Henri Cazelles* (AOAT 212; ed. Henri Cazelles et al.; Kevelaer: Butzon &

of the prehistorical Babel in Gen 11:1-9. Among others, the framework of plot gains prominence. The structure of plot is shared between Daniel 4 and Gen 11:1-9 to constitute a “large intertextual pattern”: the human going-up to the transcendent *versus* the divine going-down to the mundane.²¹⁷ Namely, both Daniel 4 and Genesis 11:1-9 highlight that human political power ascends to and intrudes into divine domain and, in return, the divine descends to the earthly realm to control the rebellious human power. It is this framework of plot that establishes a link between Daniel 4 and Genesis 11.²¹⁸ While reintroduced to Daniel 4, the Genesis theme of the tower of Babel demonstrates “God’s continuing power over human antagonists.”²¹⁹ The informed reader, familiar with the theme, becomes aware of the plot-structure that is commonly found between the alluding text in Daniel 4 and the evoked text in Genesis 11 and perceives how Daniel reworks the Genesis story of Babel to make its own point. Again, the reader enters a broader referential horizon on which Daniel is entwined with Genesis in such a way that enriches the theologoumena of the divine absolute sovereignty. A series of common textual elements between Genesis 11 and Daniel 4 demonstrates the shared plot that constitutes the main sign of allusion:

Chart VI: Main Signs of Allusion

The Alluding Text	The Evoked Text
Daniel 4	Genesis 11

Bercker, 1981), 255, 257-258. The positive use of the same imagery is found in oracles of the messianic rule (e.g., Isa 11:10; Ezek 17:22-23; Hosea 14:5-7).

²¹⁷ Ben-Porat and Hrushovski, *Structuralist Poetics in Israel*, 23, define “large patterns” as “plot, ideas, and character” that are shared by two separate texts.

²¹⁸ A plot pattern is formulated either by the narrator or by characters. See Hrushovski, “Theory of the Literary Text and the Structure of Non-Narrative Fiction,” 639.

²¹⁹ Steven Goldsmith, *Unbuilding Jerusalem: Apocalypse and Romantic Representation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 65-66.

vv. 8, 17 its height reached to heaven ²²⁰ (רומה ימטא לשמיא) v. 19 Your greatness ... reached to heaven (רבותך ... מטת לשמיא)	v. 4a its top in the heavens (ראשו בשמים) its top reaches towards heaven (רישיה מטי עד-צית שמיא) ²²¹
v. 10, 20 a watcher, a holy one, descended from heaven (עיר וקדיש מן-שמיא נחת) ²²² v. 28 a voice descended from heaven to you (קל מן-שמיא נפל לך) v. 21 a decree of the Most High ... came upon ... the king (גזרת עליון ... מטת על ... מלכא)	v. 5, 7 The Lord descended to see the city ... let us descend! (ויירד יהוה לראת את-העיר ... נרדה)

In the alluding text King Nebuchadnezzar is symbolized two times by a titanic tree. The tree grows up so marvelously that “its height reached to heaven” (Dan 4:8, 17). Interpreting the sky-touching crown of the tree to be the monarch’s “greatness,” Daniel further repeats the pattern of the human-going-up toward the heavenly estate of God (Dan 4:19). Here, the height of the tree is undoubtedly indebted to that of the tower at Babel (Gen 11:4). The Aramaic text of Targum Genesis shows terminological affinity with that of MT Daniel, heightening the probability of the deliberate use of Genesis in Daniel. The nonverbal phrase, “its top in the heavens” (Gen 11:4), is modified in a verbal clause, “its height reached to heaven” (Dan 4:8, 17). The Aramaic verb recurring three times in Daniel, “מטא” (reach), is also attested to in three major versions of Targum Gen 11:4. Moreover, “its height” (רומה) in MT Dan 4:8, 17 is parallel

²²⁰ Cf. Dan 4:7, “Its height was great” (רומה שגיא).

²²¹ *Tg. Onq.* Gen 11:4a (Sperber, *The Pentateuch according to Targum Onkelos*, 15). Other Targums show minimal variants. *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gen 11:4a has רישי (Clarke, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*, 11). *Tg. Neof.* Gen 11:4a has ראשה and ראשיה (Macho, *Neophyti 1*, 59).

²²² In Dan 4:20 only the place of a verb is shifted (עיר וקדיש נחת מן-שמיא).

to “its top” (רֹאשׁוֹ) in Targum Gen 11:4. In addition, the phrase in Targum Genesis, “towards heaven” (עַד־צִית שְׁמִיָּא),²²³ is consonant with the phrase in MT Daniel, “to heaven” (לְשָׁמַיָּא).

In Daniel 4 the divine movement to the mundane world is emphasized more than the human movement to the heavenly world. What moves upwards from the earth is only the tree, whereas what moves downward from God is expressed in three different names: “a watcher,” “a voice,” and “a decree” (Dan 4:10, 20, 28, 21). The divine descent aims to humble the king, is repeated four times, and its purpose finds powerful expression in the impressive section of metamorphosis of Nebuchadnezzar from the human to the bestial (Dan 4:28-30). The art of the repetition of the Aramaic verb “מִטָּא” is remarkable, stressing the vertical clash between God and Nebuchadnezzar. The height of the tree “reaches to heaven” (יִמְטָא לְשָׁמַיָּא) (Dan 4:8, 17). In reaction, the decree of the Most High “comes upon ... the king” (מִטָּת עַל ... מַלְכָּא) (Dan 4:21). Evidently, the watcher’s descent in Daniel is modeled after the Lord’s descent in Genesis. As the Lord comes down to the tower in Babel of old, so the deity’s agent comes down to the towering tree in Babel of new (Gen 11:5, 7; Dan 4:10, 20).²²⁴ Both Nebuchadnezzar as the tree and the builders of the tower are all horridly disciplined by the God in heaven. However, the

²²³ The Targum expression עַד־צִית שְׁמִיָּא (towards heaven) conveys the image of the tower in Babel. The death of Jacob is in point. MT Gen 11:4, “Come, let us build for ourselves ... a tower with its top in the heavens” (הָבָה נִבְנֶה־לָּנוּ ... מִגְדָּל וְרֹאשׁוֹ בַשָּׁמַיִם), is appropriated, terminologically and syntactically, in *Tg. Neof* Gen 50:1, אֵיתוֹן נִבְנִי לְאִבּוֹנִי אֲרִזָּא רִמָּא לְרִישִׁיהָ מִטִּי עַד־צִית שְׁמִיָּא (Come, let us build for our father a tall cedar, its top reaching towards heaven) (Macho, *Neophyti I*, 341). The Targumic expression is also attested in the Jacob’s dream vision at Bethel (*Tg. Onq./Ps.-J./Neof*. Gen 28:12; *Tg. Neof*. Gen 28:17). There the celestial ladder that Jacob’s dream vision, like the tree in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream vision, takes on the pattern of the up-and-down movement, but without the conflict between the human and the divine. In light of the idea of angelic princes of the nations in Daniel (e.g., Dan 10:13, 20), R. Samuel b. Nahman interprets the angels moving along the ladder to be “a visual representation of the rise and fall of empires” and thus “the guardian angels of Babylon, Media, Greece, and Rome” (See James Kugel, *The Ladder of Jacob: Ancient Interpretations of the Biblical Story of Jacob and His Children* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006], 21). For the Aramaic expression עַד־צִית, see “לְצַד” (Dan 7:25).

²²⁴ George Wesley Buchanan, *The Book of Daniel* (Lempeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1999), 116; and, Seow, *Daniel*, 67-68.

divine discipline on the collective level in Genesis is shifted to that on the individual level in Daniel. The architects are made to suffer *social* pandemonium of total collapse of communication. Nebuchadnezzar experiences *personal* pandemonium, stripped of his human rationality and stricken with the mind of a beast (Dan 4:13).

In the stage of the reader's recognizing the main sign the author's mastery of allusion is well demonstrated by a correspondence between homonyms, namely, the Aramaic marker 'îr (עִיר; watcher) and the Hebrew marked 'îr (עִיר; city) (Dan 4:10, 14, 20; Gen 11:5, 7).²²⁵ In the Jewish Bible only Daniel 4 attests to the Aramaic noun, which is generally construed as "watcher."²²⁶ The absence of the Aramaic term's recurrence in other biblical texts, however, does not deter us from hearing the identical sound, through which the directional marker in Aramaic is linked to its marked component in Hebrew.²²⁷ The deliberate connection between these two homonyms may well find good support in a midrashic exegesis of Psalm 1. There, like the author of Daniel 4, the ancient sages provide an interpretation of Abraham's piety by forging

²²⁵ This feature of allusion in Daniel may well find analogues in study of allusions in Isaiah. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 140, states that "correspondences between words that sound similar but have distinct meanings ... is a common one in Deutero-Isaiah's allusions to older texts, and its presence increases the likelihood that these parallels result from borrowing," echoing Klaus Baltzer, "Schriftauslegung bei Deuterjesaja?—Jes 43,22-28 als Beispiel," in *Die Väter Israels: Beiträge zur Theologie der Patriarchenüberlieferungen im Alten Testament* (ed. Manfred Görg et al.; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1989), 11-16.

²²⁶ Literally, "the one who is awakened or watchful." Elsewhere Daniel 4, the watcher as angelic being is widely attested in the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period: Enochic Book of Watchers (*1 En.* 10:9; 12:3; 13:10; 16:2; 22:6), Jub 4:15; *T. Reu.* 5:6-7; *T. Naph.* 3:5; CD 2:18; 1Qap Gen^{ar} 2:1, 16, and 4QMess ar (4Q534/4QNoah ar) 2:16, 18. See Luis Díez Merino, "Los 'vigilantes' en la literatura intertestamentaria," in *Simposio Bíblico Español: Salamanca, 1982* (ed. N. Fernandez Marcos et al.; Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1984), 575-605; and, Collins, *Daniel*, 224-226.

²²⁷ Hollander, *The Figure of Echo*, 113, states that "homonyms of a word" functions as "linking references in some kind of conceptual space."; Daniel 4 shows another instance of the similar sort of allusive sound-play. The confrontation between the Most High and Nebuchadnezzar is encapsulated in a pair of recurring Aramaic motif-words that are nicely associated through their audial similarity: 'illā'â (עִלְאָה; the Most High; Dan 3:32; 4:14, 21, 22, 29, 31) and 'îlān (עֵץ; the tree; Dan 4:7, 8, 11, 17, 20, 23). The connection the author makes through the terminological affinity between the divine epithet and the royal image emphasizes the theme of the divine sovereignty: The tree symbolic of the monarch is tremendously high, but short of the Most High who fells it down.

a graceful analogy between “a watcher” (עִיר) that the architects make in Gen 11:4 and the “watcher” (עִיר) that Nebuchadnezzar beholds in Dan 4:10.²²⁸ The midrashic reading of “עִיר” in Gen 11:4 reflects the rabbis’ view that the Babelites intended to produce an idol.²²⁹ In Daniel 4, the homonyms make a literary allusion. The informed reader, who recognizes the intertextual plot-pattern between Daniel 4 and Genesis 11, may well proceed to perceive the conceptual resonance between the two homonyms. In Genesis, Babel the “city” goes up high as its tower is progressively elevated by the builders.²³⁰ In Daniel, the holy “watcher” from heaven, as if reacting to the upward movement of the “city,” comes down to the towering tree, that is, the king of Babel (Gen 11:4; Dan 4:10, 20).

The conceptual kinship between the ascending city and the descending watcher is nicely buttressed by the concept of divine council that Genesis 11 and Daniel 4 share. In Genesis the deity, who comes down to the city, is expressed in singular: “The Lord came down ...” (Gen 11:5). At the same time, God’s soliloquy, in which God decides to punish the builders, intimates that the deity’s act is made in collaboration with other divine entities: “Come, let us go down ...” (Gen 11:7). The divine speeches in Genesis do not specify who the attending beings are.²³¹ Read

²²⁸ Thus, Midrash Tehellim Pss 1:1 reads: “Come, let us build us a Watcher and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven” (Gen 11:4) ... and by ‘Watcher’ they meant a god, as in the verse ‘Behold the Watcher and the Holy One came down from heaven’ (Dan 4:10)” (William G. Braude, *The Midrash on Psalms Vol I* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959], 17). For Hebrew text, see Buber Salomon, *Midrash Tehilim* (Jerusalem: H. Vagshal, 1976), 12. Marcus Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005), 1075, refers to the midrashic wordplay on the homonyms.

²²⁹ Similarly, *Tg. Neof.* Gen 11:4, *Gen. Rab.* 38:8. For ancient Jewish interpretation of the tower building to be idolatry, see Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 239-240.

²³⁰ Babel the city takes on the image of going-up towards heaven. The builders intend a huge “city,” where the top of a tower touches heaven (Gen 11:4). Accordingly, the attention of God is directed to the city: The deity comes down to see the “city” (Gen 11:5). Ultimately, the builders are forced to cease building the “city” (Gen 11: 8). Possibly, “a city and a tower” is hendiadys (Gen 11:4, 5).

²³¹ In Jub 10:22-23 they are angels. Similarly, in his allegorical commentary, Philo, quoting Gen 1:26 and 3:22, explains that God is addressing “to the co-workers” (συνεργοῖς), namely, countless

in light of the literary allusion, Daniel 4 turns out to identify them as a group of watchers. The pattern of the combination of the divine singular and plural is reused in Daniel 4. Thus the watcher, who comes down in reminiscence of the deity of Genesis, is singular (Dan 4:10). But the watcher offers revealing information that the divine punishment on the tree is already decided in the heavenly council made of the plural divine beings: the “Most High” and the assistant “watchers” (Dan 4:14).²³² All these ideological correlations surrounding the two homonyms well enable the linking of the two semantically distant words. As a result, the two homonyms are connected not only through their phonetic homogeneity but also through their strong ideological kinship. The scenes of the descent of the watcher in Dan 4:10, 20 can be said to form a junction of allusion, where multiple intertextual patterns, here audial and conceptual, of the two homonyms meet.²³³

B. Supplemental Signs of Allusion

The recognition of these main signs of allusion makes the reader proceed to unveil the supplemental signs of allusion. The reader comes to focus on how the alluding text modifies the components of the evoked text. Let me provide the supplemental signs and address how the elements of the evoked text in Genesis participate in the shaping of the reader’s understanding of the alluding text in Daniel. The chart below exhibits conveniently the supplemental signs:

angelic entourage called “powers aiding and saving every existence (δυνάμεις ἀρωγοὺς καὶ σωτηρίους τοῦ γενομένου πάσας) (Philo, *Conf.* 168, 171 [Colson, LCL 261, Vol 4:102-104]); See Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 241-242.

²³² Aage Bentzen, *Daniel* (HAT 19; Tübingen: Verlag von J.C.B. Mohr, 1952), 43, holds that the author of Dan 4:14 is aware of the divine council similar to that in 1 Kgs 22:19 and in the first two chapters of Job. Similarly, Haag, *Daniel*, 43.

²³³ On junction of the sort, see Benjamin Hrushovski, “Segmentation and Motivation in the Text Continuum of Literary Prose,” 122-126.

Chart VII: Supplemental Signs of Allusion

The Alluding Text	The Evoked Text
Daniel 4	Genesis 11
v. 27 Babel the great that I myself have built ... by the might of my power and for the glory of my majesty (בְּבֶל רַבְתָּא דִּי־אַנְה בְּנִיתָה לְבֵית מְלָכו) Babel the great that I myself have built (בְּבֶל רַבְתָּא דִּי־אַנְה בְּנִיתָה)	v. 4. let us build a city ... let us make a name for ourselves (נִבְנֶה־לָנוּ עִיר ... נַעֲשֶׂה־לָנוּ שֵׁם) they stopped building the city (וַיַּחְדְּלוּ לְבִנֵּת הָעִיר)
v. 7 a tree in the midst of the earth (אֵילָן בְּגוֹא אֶרְעָא) v. 7 a tree in the midst of the earth (אֵילָן בְּגוֹא אֶרְעָא)	v. 4b lest we be scattered upon the face of the whole earth (פְּנִי־נִפּוּץ עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־הָאָרֶץ) v. 8, 9 The Lord scattered them from there over the face of the whole earth (וַיִּפֶּץ יְהוָה אֹתָם מִשָּׁם עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־הָאָרֶץ)
v. 14, 22, 29 the empire of humankind (מְלָכוּת אַנְשָׂא) ²³⁴	v. 5 the city and the tower that humankind built (אֶת־הָעִיר וְאֶת־הַמִּגְדָּל אֲשֶׁר בָּנוּ בְּנֵי הָאָדָם) ²³⁵
v. 11 cut down the tree and chop off its branches, strip off its foliage and scatter its fruit! גְּדוּ אֵילָנָא וְקַצְצוּ עֲנָפוּהִי אֶתְרוּ עֶפְיָהּ וּבְדְרוּ אַנְבֵּיהּ let the animals flee from beneath it and the birds from its branches! תְּגַד חַיּוֹתָא מִן־תַּחְתּוּהִי וְצִפְרִיָּא מִן־עֲנָפוּהִי	v. 8 the Lord scattered them from there over the face of the whole earth, וַיִּפֶּץ יְהוָה אֹתָם מִשָּׁם עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־הָאָרֶץ and they stopped building the city וַיַּחְדְּלוּ לְבִנֵּת הָעִיר ²³⁶

The Nebuchadnezzar emerging from Daniel 4 is an architect of Babel. He is capable as well as egocentric. From the outset the monarch is introduced as basking in his magnificent architectural achievement in Babel. He rests in his royal luxury, being “at ease” in his “house”

²³⁴ In Dan 2:38; 4:13, 14, 22, 29; 5:21; 7:8 the Aramaic “אַנְשָׂא” is collective, indicating “humankind” or “the human race” (see *HALOT* 5:1819).

²³⁵ For the Hebrew phrase בְּנֵי הָאָדָם in its collective sense, see 1 Sam 26:19, 1 Kgs 8:39, 2 Chr 6:30, Psa 33:13, Eccl 2:8; 3:18-19, 21; 8:11; 9:3, 12.

²³⁶ Cf. Gen 11:8 is almost verbatim repeated in Gen 11:9, “from there the Lord scattered them over the face of the whole earth” (מִשָּׁם הִפִּיצָם יְהוָה עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־הָאָרֶץ).

and “prospering” in his “palace” (Dan 4:1). In language of self-aggrandizement the monarch ascribes “Babel the great” to his mighty power (Dan 4:27a).²³⁷ The characterization of Nebuchadnezzar as the architect of Babel conjures up the monarch’s distant predecessors, who were the architects of Babel the city-state. True, they aspired to build the great city. As well implied in the cooperative mood of their speeches—“let us make ...” and “let us build ...”—they embarked ambitiously on and delved altogether into their huge construction project (Gen 11:4). Quite unlike Nebuchadnezzar, however, they failed to fulfill the project. They “stopped building the city” (Gen 11:8). Consequently, they could not make a name for themselves (Gen 11:4). By contrast, Nebuchadnezzar seems to surely do so, as he congratulates himself on having enhanced the “glory” of his “majesty” by building Babel (Dan 4:27b). The royal builder of Babel accomplishes what his ancestors in Babel previously abandon.²³⁸

Nebuchadnezzar bears a striking resemblance not only to the builders of the tower but also to the tower itself. The image of Nebuchadnezzar as the tower functions to stress why the monarch deserves divine chastisement. Daniel explains the tree as the monarch, depicting him in language deeply resonant with that of the tower in Babel (Dan 4:19; Gen 11:4). Moreover, the location of the tree bolsters its image as the tower. The tree occupies “the midst of the earth” (Dan 4:7). The particularized location of the tree hints at the location of the tower. In Genesis the location of the tower is implicitly expressed when the tower builders are punished by God. There Babel functions as the central point of the world at the time God compels them to be scattered

²³⁷ The pompous monarch’s phrase, “Babel the great” (Βαβυλῶν ἡ μεγάλη) is appropriated in the new context of Revelation, where Babel finds the eternal end (OG Dan 4:27; Rev 16:19; 17:5; 18:10, 21).

²³⁸ The inscription *Nebuchadnezzar XV* attests to Nebuchadnezzar II’s remarkable building-activities for Babylon. See Langdon, *Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire*, 119-141.

“from there” to all directions (Gen 11:8, 9).²³⁹ That the site of the city becomes the center of the world is stressed as it takes on ironic overtones. When postdiluvian people find the land of Shinar, they stop their moving to settle there (Gen 11:2). As their worrying soliloquy implies, the reason they choose the land as their dwelling place is that they do not want to “be scattered all over the earth” (Gen 11:4). In other words, their ultimate aim is to establish the land of Shinar as humankind’s sole abode on the earth. To fulfill the purpose, they decide to fabricate the lofty tower as a symbol of union.²⁴⁰ Quite ironically, it turns out to be not the architects themselves but rather God who fulfills their desire. God sets the land of Shinar as the center of the world not in a way that the architects permanently stay all together in the only place they choose, but in a way that they are explosively spread from there into every place of the world (Gen 11:8, 9).²⁴¹ The connotation of “the midst of the earth” leads to the conclusion that, rather than the mythical concept of the cosmic tree, the literary allusion working between the tree in Daniel and the tower in Genesis better explains the site of the great tree (Dan 4:7).

True, Daniel 4 activates Israel’s collective memory of Babel as the center of the dispersion of humankind.²⁴² The literary activation of early Jewish recollection of Babel in Daniel 4 appears to reflect how the Jews in exile understood their historical situation. Deported

²³⁹ Weisman, *Political Satire in the Bible*, 50.

²⁴⁰ Cassuto, *Genesis: Part II*, 243, nicely states that “[I]n order that they should not be dispersed ... they decided to build ... a kind of *central* habitation and meeting place for all of them, in which there was to be a high tower ... as a sign-post of their point of assembly” (italics mine).

²⁴¹ The image of the tree in Daniel 4 resonates with that of two sorts of trees in Genesis 2. Like a “tree in the middle of the earth” (אֵילֶן בְּגֹוֹא אֶרֶץ), both “the tree (אֵילֶן) of life” and “the tree (אֵילֶן) of the knowledge of good and evil” spring from the soil (אֶרֶץ) “in the midst of” (בְּגֹוֹ) Eden (*Tg. Neof.* Gen 2:9). As postdiluvian humanity is driven out by God from Babel, so Adam and Eve, the primal parents of antediluvian humanity, are cast out by God from Eden. See Macho, *Neophyti 1*, 9, 500.

²⁴² Babel that Daniel portrays, too, constitutes Israel’s collective historical memory. See Matthias Henze, “Babylon Remembered: Nebuchadnezzar in the Collective Memory of Ancient Israel,” in *With Wisdom as a Robe: Qumran and Other Jewish Studies in Honor of Ida Fröhlich* (ed. Károly Dániel Dobos and Miklós Köszeghy; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), 108-120.

to the Babylonian empire, the Jewish captives found that Nebuchadnezzar intended the Babel he built to be the center of the “unification of the entire world.”²⁴³ Thus Daniel 4 designates the monarch’s Babel the “empire of humankind” (מְלָכוּת אֲנָשָׁא, Dan 4:14, 22, 29) another supplemental allusion to the “city ... that humankind built” (הָעִיר ... אֲשֶׁר בָּנוּ בְּנֵי הָאָדָם, Gen 11:5). Both the Aramaic “אֲנָשָׁא” and the Hebrew “בְּנֵי הָאָדָם” refer commonly to the human race. As pointed out in my discussion of allusion to Genesis in Daniel 1, Babel is Nimrod’s first “empire” (מַלְכוּ),²⁴⁴ which is the first city-monarchy that humankind establishes in the Jewish Bible (Gen 10:10). Nimrod’s empire becomes the central point of God’s scattering the postdiluvian congregation all over the world (Gen 11:1, 8-9). Repeatedly defining Nebuchadnezzar’s Babel as the “empire of humankind,” the author signals that the monarch’s empire is founded on the same site as that of the city primeval humankind built (Dan 4:14, 22, 29; Gen 11:5). Not surprisingly, the builder of the human empire is shown to need to learn that the Most High alone governs the human empire. Nebuchadnezzar’s ignorance of the divine sovereignty causes the monarch to suffer divine discipline.

In aligning “the empire of humankind” with “the city that humankind built,” the author allows the location of the tree to presage the impending doom of the tree/Nebuchadnezzar. By putting the divine decree in the mouth of the heavenly watcher, the author informs the intended audiences/readers that the ambition of the monarch who built the empire of humankind, like the ambition of humankind that built the city, will be thwarted by God. In Genesis the heavenly sovereign “scattered” (בָּדַד)²⁴⁵ the rebellious humankind of Nimrod’s empire, while driving it

²⁴³ Weisman, *Political Satire in the Bible*, 48.

²⁴⁴ *Tgs. Onq., Ps.-J., Neof.* Gen 10:10.

²⁴⁵ *Tgs. Onq., Ps.-J.* Gen 11:8, 9. Heb. פָּוֶץ.

away from the center of the world (Gen 11:8, 9). The author designs the divine act of scattering to be reenacted by the watcher who commands: “Scatter” (בִּזְרֹךְ) its fruit!” (Dan 4:11). Indeed, the divine act of scattering is further reinforced as the watcher proclaims the punishment of the tree, the builder of the empire of humankind. The tree is cut down, its branches are chopped off, its foliage is stripped off, and consequently, both “animals” and “birds” are forced to leave the tree (Dan 4:11). Given that the tree is the emperor of Babel, the animals and the birds refer evidently to the subjugated peoples of the Babylonian empire.²⁴⁶ God scatters “humankind” that built the city-state of Babel (Gen 11:5). Again, the deity casts away the members of Babel, the empire of “humankind” (Dan 4:14, 22, 29). The emperor himself is cast away from God in a way that intimates divine vindication of Israel. The Jewish audiences/readers of Daniel were exiled by the despot of the empire of humankind. Now the despot, “driven away from humankind” by their God, is exiled to the world of animal (Dan 4:22, 29, 30). The trenchant satire that Nebuchadnezzar who exiled Jews is submitted to an exile among the animals might have given a source of the divine consolation to the intended audiences/readers of Daniel 4.

C. Maximum Activation of Allusion: 1. The Apocalyptic Portrayal of Political Hubris in Daniel

As I discussed in detail above, in Daniel imperialism deprives humankind of its glorious image of the creator God Central to the shaping of the message is the allusion in Daniel 4 to the Genesis idea of reaching to heaven. Why did the Genesis become important for the author of Daniel 4?

²⁴⁶ Fewell, *Circle of Sovereignty*, 72. Prior to the animal images used for the Babylonian Empire, Babylon is often expressed as animals such as heifer, stallion, a lion, lambs, rams, he goats (Jer 50:7, 11, 17; 51:40). For the use of the animal imagery for Babylon, see Alice Ogden Bellis, “The Changing Face of Babylon in Prophetic/Apocalyptic Literature: Seventh Century BCE to First Century CE and Beyond,” in *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and their Relationships* (JSPSup 46; ed. Lester L. Grabbe and Robert D. Haak; London: T & T Clark International, 2003), 67-68.

Examining how the depiction of Nebuchadnezzar's reaching to heaven in Daniel 4 interacts with other texts in Daniel, I will argue that Daniel uses the Genesis idea to generate the apocalyptic representation of foreign political violence to the religious values of Israel.

The main sign of allusion that operates between the tree in Daniel and the tower in Genesis serves to characterize Nebuchadnezzar as the tower. The supplemental sign of allusion that operates between "Babel" in Dan 4:27 and "a city" in Gen 11:4 complicates the monarch's identity by associating him with ancient architects of the city. As a result, the allusion in Daniel 4 to Genesis 11 shapes the monarch as a multivalent character. He resembles the tower as well as the builders of Babel the city. The polyphony of the monarch's character, I submit, takes on exegetical overtones. The first audience of the author of Daniel 4 was presumably the Jewish Diaspora under the rule of King Nebuchadnezzar of the Babylonian empire. The author explains the fall of Jerusalem and the dispersion of God's people by appealing to the polyphonic character of Nebuchadnezzar. The monarch, the towering tree in his dream vision, has accomplished the purpose of the prehistorical construction at Babel by reaching to heaven. Furthermore, he himself became the architect of Babylon the city, thereby reviving the notorious hubris of the tower-builders. In explaining the historical situation that the Jewish Diaspora behind Daniel 4 faced, the author may have felt the need to focus on how to understand this dreadful king against the backdrop of the Jewish scriptural tradition. The author suggested that Nebuchadnezzar was the human ruler who succeeded in expanding his political power from earth to heaven—the infinite interval that the tower builders never transcended.

Such an exegetical intention of the author cannot go unnoticed. In Genesis 11 the top of the tower does not reach to heaven. The architects' attempt at the sky-penetrating tower ends in miscarriage. By contrast, Daniel 4 repeatedly makes it clear that the top of the tree in actuality

“reached to heaven” (Dan 4:8, 17). The difference between the tree and the tower is further elaborated when Daniel interprets the monarch’s dream. Daniel defines the tremendous tree as Nebuchadnezzar, thereby denoting that the monarch intruded into the divine realm. More specifically, Daniel informs Nebuchadnezzar that what reaches to heaven is the tree’s top, which is the monarch’s “greatness” (Dan 4:19). Indeed, the tree’s greatness is stressed by the fact that the tree supplies “all” with its abundant fruit (Dan 4:9, 18). The monarch is the source of life of all living beings. The greatness of Nebuchadnezzar refers to his absolute control of the total inhabitants in the world.²⁴⁷ He submits all of them under his “dominion” since it reaches “to the end of the earth” (Dan 4:19). Yet, the monarch’s political hegemony does not remain within earthly boundaries. As though “the tower with its top in heaven” becomes a reality, the monarch’s dominion “grew great,” “became strong,” and finally, impinges upon even the celestial sphere (Gen 11:4; Dan 4:8, 17, 19). Interacting with Genesis 11, therefore, Daniel’s interpretation of the monarch’s dream reveals that King Nebuchadnezzar’s heaven-reaching political power fulfilled the postdiluvian generation’s hankering to impinge on the divine realm.

This line of reasoning leads inevitably to an important question. However great the imperialistic rule of Nebuchadnezzar is, it is still merely a mortal individual’s mundane power. Why then did the author of Daniel 4 see that the monarch’s power influenced the heavenly realm? Put another way, Nebuchadnezzar, the great tree “in the center of the earth,” stretches *horizontally* his imperium from his Babylon “to the end of the earth” (Dan 4:7, 19). But how could the author regard the monarch’s imperium as reaching *vertically* from the earth to heaven?

²⁴⁷ The point is clearer in OG Dan 4:18-19, where Daniel tells the monarch that “the power of the earth and of the nations and of all the languages, which reach to the ends of the earth, and all countries serve you ... You, O king, have been exalted above all humans who exist upon the face of the whole earth.”

The answer is offered by internal allusion that the author designs to be activated within Daniel.²⁴⁸

The author expresses the view of Nebuchadnezzar's political imperialism as a human invasion of the divine domain through the numerous intra-textual resonances in Daniel. Let me discuss in detail the dynamics of the internal allusion in Daniel. A first example is found in the connection between the palace of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 4 and the temple of God in Daniel 1. The author's critical perspective is epitomized in the sharp contrast between Nebuchadnezzar's devastating the temple of God and the monarch's composure at his palace. In Daniel 1 the prologue begins with the monarch's invasion of Jerusalem. The focus of the prologue is Nebuchadnezzar's ravage of the Jerusalem temple. The temple plunderer exiles the sacred vessels of "the house of God" to the treasury of the foreign divinity he adores (Dan 1:2). The opening verse of Daniel 4 harks back in a poignant manner to the monarch's violence against the divine temple. Despite the sacrilege he perpetrates to the house of God, Nebuchadnezzar serenely flourishes in his opulent "house" (Dan 4:1).²⁴⁹ The tree's reaching to heaven in his dream turns out to be the monarch's conquest of the Jerusalem temple, an assault that his ancestry in Babel could only attempt by building the tower.

Daniel 8 gives more prominence to the concept that an *earthly* ruler's desecration of the Jerusalem temple is equivalent with the ruler's trespassing on the *heavenly* province of God.

Daniel's visionary report provides the apocalyptic portraiture of the "small horn" that stands for

²⁴⁸ Internal allusion often takes the form of citation of one part by another part of the same text. On internal allusion, see "self echo" in Perri, "On Alluding," 300, 305; Viglionese, "Internal Allusion at Dante's *Commedia*," 239; Hollander, *Vision and Resonance*, 135-164; and, Lester, "Daniel Evokes Isaiah," 88-91.

²⁴⁹ Nebuchadnezzar's devastation of the house of God is continuously remembered in Daniel. King Belshazzar orders that More poignantly, under the influence of the wine in a sacrilegious banquet, King Belshazzar, along with all his entourage, drinks the wine with the "vessels abducted from the house of God," and praises the Babylonian gods (Dan 5:2-4).

Antiochus IV Epiphanes (Dan 8:9). In language allusive to the tree/Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 4, the horn/Antiochus is described as growing upward and waxing powerful.²⁵⁰ The horn arises against the “host of heaven,” hurls part of the heavenly host to the ground, and tramples them down (Dan 8:10). The horn’s brutal assault on the celestial beings reaches a pinnacle as it magnifies itself unto the “prince of the host,” who is the divine sovereign of the heavenly host (Dan 8:11a). It is a crucial point in Daniel’s apocalyptic vision that the horn’s onslaught of God’s heavenly domain represents only Antiochus’ violation of God’s earthly temple. By the horn that attacks the divine world the author of Daniel 8 meant the Syrian tyrant who disrupts the Jewish cultic system at the Jerusalem temple. Thus the author specifies that the horn/Antiochus removes the regular offering from God and overthrows the place of God’s sanctuary (Dan 8:11b). Given the author’s particular compositional style, in which a foreign ruler’s defiling the Jerusalem temple means the ruler’s attack on the heavenly world, “some of the host” that the horn throws down may well be the faithful Judeans whom Antiochus butchers due to their persistent adherence to the traditional Jewish rituals (Dan 8:10).²⁵¹ In Gabriel’s interpretation of Daniel’s

²⁵⁰ The hubris of Antiochus is epitomized in Dan 11:37-38, where the Syrian king divinizes himself (Delcor, *Le Livre de Daniel*, 115).

²⁵¹ Dan 8:10 is difficult. The host of the heaven and the stars are not synonymous. The verse conveys the motif of a human ruler who assails heavenly beings to throw them down to the earth. The motif is unique, which differs from the motif that we find in Isaiah 14 and *Sib. Or.* 5:529-531. Collins, *Daniel*, 332, states that the Danielic motif is found in Rev 12:4. True, evoking the he-goat’s horn in Dan 8:10, the dragon’s tail sweeps down a third of the stars of heaven and throw them to earth. Nevertheless, unlike the he-goat and its horn in Daniel 8, either the dragon or its tail in Revelation 12 does not represent a human rebel. The dragon stands for the Devil and Satan (Rev 12:9). Both “some of the host of the heaven” and “some of the stars” in Dan 8:10 should be taken to be the Danielic apocalyptic expressions that refer respectively to the faithful Jews and their righteous leaders in Dan 11:33-35. The attackers of them, the horn in Daniel 8 and the northern king in Daniel 11, stand commonly for Antiochus. Through the internal allusion in Daniel 8 to Daniel 11 the horn’s assault on both some of the host of the heaven and some of the stars forecasts the northern king’s persecution of the two Jewish groups.

vision, therefore, the Jewish martyrs are called the “people of the holy ones” whom Antiochus IV, called a “king of bold face,” destroys (Dan 8:23-24).²⁵²

What do the “stars” represent (Dan 8:10)? As some scholars suggest, the stars may be the “divine council,”²⁵³ or “angelic beings.”²⁵⁴ However, insofar as we take the horn to be Antiochus, the interpretation of the stars to be such transcendental beings remains imprecise. Inasmuch as that which the horn/Antiochus hurls must presuppose a certain earthly being. What then did the author of Daniel 8 intend to encode by the expression, “stars” (Dan 8:10)? For the author, Antiochus persecuted second century Jews rather than angels or the divine council. Indeed, many exegetes suggest that the stars are the pious Jews persecuted by Antiochus.²⁵⁵ The proposition then leads to the conclusion that both “some of the host of heaven” and “some of the stars” refer in common to the Jewish loyalist resistant against the Seleucid tyrant. The conclusion is plausible but unavoidably renders the latter as a redundant expression. I posit that a clue to the identity of the “stars” comes from the internal allusion that we find linking the apocalypse in Daniel 8 to that in Daniel 11-12. Namely, the allegorical apocalypse that depicts the stars hit by the horn is shifted to the historical apocalypse that depicts the *maskilim* slain by Antiochus. In both apocalyptic compositions Antiochus acquires a special prominence. In the allegorical apocalypse the Syrian tyrant plays the role of a wicked temple-desolator. The horn/Antiochus

²⁵² In Daniel 7 the horn wages war and prevails over these faithful Jews, who are called “the holy ones,” “the holy ones of the Most High,” and “the people of the holy ones of the Most High” (Dan 7:21, 25, 27).

²⁵³ Seow, *Daniel*, 123.

²⁵⁴ Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 236, echoing G.F. Moore, “Daniel viii 9-14,” *JBL* 15 (1896):194. Cf. Collins, *Daniel*, 333, identifies the “stars” as “mythic-realistic symbols,” allowing the phrase’s ambiguity.

²⁵⁵ Charles, *Daniel*, 204; Lacocque, *Daniel*, 162; and, Montgomery, *Daniel*, 334. Montgomery regards Dan 8:10 as an allusion to Antiochus IV’s “God-defying arrogance.”

removes the “regular offering” away from God and overthrows God’s “sanctuary” (Dan 8:11). The historical apocalypse contains a piece of revealing new information in which Antiochus’ temple desecration is specified. It turns out to be “military forces” of the northern king/Antiochus that profane the “sanctuary” and remove the “regular offering” (Dan 11:31).

The historical apocalypse in Daniel 11 adds another piece of new information to the allegorical apocalypse in Daniel 8 when the stars hurled by the horn are identified as the *maskilim* persecuted by the northern king. Notice that the elements of the depiction of the stars establish elegant resonances with those of the depiction of the righteous teachers. In the allegorical apocalypse the horn/Antiochus makes “some of the stars” (מִן־הַכּוֹכָבִים) “fall” (תִּפֹּל) to the “earth” (אֶרֶץ) (Dan 8:10). The identity of those who are represented by these fallen stars by the Seleucid Emperor is disclosed in the historical apocalypse. They are “some of the *maskilim*” (מִן־הַמְּשֻׁכִּילִים) who “fall” (נִכְשָׁלוּ) to sleep in the dust of the “earth” (אֶדְמָה) (Dan 11:35; 12:2).

Why do the *maskilim* in Daniel 11 parallel the stars that horn/Antiochus assaults in Daniel 8? The Syrian tyrant attempted to Hellenize the Jewish pious who lived in the second century Judea. In response, the Jewish sages called the *maskilim* inspired their contemporary Jews to be loyal to the traditional religious system. The apocalyptic portrayal of Judean society of the turbulent time conveys two different Jewish responses (Dan 11:30-35).²⁵⁶ Some of Jews follow Antiochus who seduce them with intrigue (Dan 11:32). By contrast, some of Jews follow the teaching of the *maskilim* (Dan 11:33). It is the *maskilim*-affiliated pious Jews who are termed “some of the host” knocked down by the horn (Dan 8:11). They are not the *entire* Jews under the

²⁵⁶ These two contrary Jewish groups are commonly designated “many” (Dan 11: 33-34). For this matter, see Kim, “Wisdom and Apocalyptic in 2 Baruch,” 260-263.

domination of the Seleucid tyrant, but only *part* of them who join their righteous teachers. The same holds true for the case of the *maskilim*. These righteous teachers make many Jews understand. In doing so, part of these righteous teachers sacrifice themselves for the steadfast Jews in opposition to Antiochus. This is the reason why “some of the stars” hurled by the horn/Antiochus is rephrased as “some of the *maskilim*” executed by the northern king/Antiochus (Dan 8:10; 11:35). Only this subgroup of the *maskilim*, alongside their Jewish followers, chooses to resist Antiochus’ appalling atrocities at the price of their life: captivity, plunder, sword, and flame (Dan 11:33).

The interpretation of “some of stars” to be “some of *maskilim*” is further bolstered by the fact that the Jewish martyrdom under the persecution of Antiochus ultimately yields purification of the remnant Israel. When the suffering of some heavenly “host” is ended altogether, the sanctuary “will be cleansed” (וְנִצְדָק) (Dan 8:13-14). In the time of the end “some of the host” are purified themselves. The *maskilim*-instructed Jews undergo Antiochus’ brutal violence so “that they may be cleansed” (וְלִבְרָר) (Dan 11:35). In the end of time when the sanctuary and the holy people of God are purified, one more thing comes to be set straight. The fallen stars hit by the horn/Antiochus rise back to the sky and obtain their astral immortality. The *maskilim*, the self-sacrificed righteous teachers who make the purification a reality through their martyrdom, awake to shine like the “stars” forever and ever (Dan 12:3).

The elegant theologoumenon of the Jerusalem temple in Daniel climaxes as the absolute power of a rebellious ruler is made controlled by God. The royal rebel destroys the temple of God, but the deity ultimately triumphs over him.²⁵⁷ The internal allusion working between

²⁵⁷ This Danielic concept of the Jerusalem temple is modified in the *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch*. As in Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar destroys the Jerusalem temple. But it is merely mundane counterpart of the heavenly Jerusalem that already exists when God decided to create paradise (2 Bar. 4:1-7). On the

Daniel 4 and Daniel 8 is designed to characterize Antiochus in such a way as to appropriate numerous elements of the stories of Nebuchadnezzar. Daniel overhears a conversation between “a holy one” (אֱחָד־קָדוֹשׁ) and “another holy one” (Dan 8:13). These angelic interlocutors evoke the plural “holy ones” (קְדִישִׁין) that dispatch “a holy one” (קְדִישׁ) to Nebuchadnezzar (Dan 4:10, 14). In Daniel 4 the holy one declares that the Most High owns the political power of the Babylonian tyrant. It is repeatedly stressed that the Most High rules the realm of humankind (Dan 4:14, 22, 29). Analogously, the power of Antiochus belongs not to the tyrant himself but rather to the deity. However mighty the power of the Syrian Emperor is, therefore, his mightiness is “not through his own power” (Dan 8:24). The truth is nicely expressed through the intertextual web of the verb “to give” (נָתַן). The Most High “gives” the human realm to whomever the deity wishes (Dan 4:14, 22, 29). Thus the deity “gives” King Jehoiakim of Judah, along with some of the sacred vessels of the Jerusalem temple, into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan 1:2). Along the same lines, the faithful Jews,²⁵⁸ together with the regular burnt offering of the temple, “are given over” by God to Antiochus (Dan 8:12). Nebuchadnezzar praises the Most High who according to the deity’s will does with the “army of the heaven” (חֵיל שָׁמַיָא) (Dan 4:32). It is the same sovereignty of God that lies behind the atrocities the horn perpetrates to the “host of the heaven” (עֲבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם) (Dan 8:10). Here the uncanny correspondence between the act of the God in heaven and the act of the ruler on earth functions to delimit the power of Antiochus within God’s providence.

concept of the heavenly temple, see Matthias Henze, *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel: Second Baruch in Context* (TSAJ 142; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 78-83.

²⁵⁸ Heb. עֲבָא תִּנָּתֵן (a host will be given over). Here the “host” refers most likely to the faithful Jews under Antiochus persecution. The same idea is found in Dan 7:25, where the “host” in Dan 8:12 is called “holy ones” who “are given” into the power of Antiochus. In both verses “the empirical tribulation of the Jewish people is understood to have its counterpart in the heavenly battle” (Collins, *Daniel*, 335).

God's judgment of Antiochus too is depicted in terms of God's mysterious providence. The Syrian temple-devastator prospers in what he acts according to his will (Dan 8:12, 24; 11:36). His blasphemy motivated by his free will is revealed as belonging in actuality to the divine eschatological program. The point is articulated by analogy between Nebuchadnezzar and Antiochus. Nebuchadnezzar is the "lowly of men" whom God sets over the human realm at God's will (Dan 4:14). Likewise, Antiochus is also merely a "despicable person" (Dan 11:21). As Nebuchadnezzar's "heart" is lifted up, so does Antiochus magnify himself in his "heart" (Dan 4:13; 5:20; 8:25). In punishing the Babylonian tyrant, God is described as a deity who controls time. Thus God allows seven "times" (עֲדָנִין) to pass over during the time Nebuchadnezzar lives with the bestial heart (Dan 4:13, 20, 22, 29). Similarly, in destroying the Syrian tyrant, God acts according to the "appointed time" (מוֹעֵד)²⁵⁹ that God predetermines (Dan 8:19). At last, both arrogant foreign rulers share the end of their rebellious power. Antiochus is announced to be demolished "without a hand" (דִּי-לֹא בִידִין), while evoking Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the crushing stone hewn "not by hands" (בְּאֶפְסָדִי) (Dan 2:34, 45; 8:25). Both tyrants are judged by God, who is the divine owner of political power that they abuse.

2. Divine Sovereignty over Human Politics

In Daniel 4 God is inextricably involved with politics. God steers the course of political events, making a human ruler recognize the "King of heaven" (Dan 4:34). The controlling power of the "eminently political God" is stressed in the political theology of Daniel 4.²⁶⁰ The God in heaven

²⁵⁹ מוֹעֵד is a Hebrew alternative to the Aramaic עֲדָנִין (See *HALOT*, 2:558; 5:1944).

²⁶⁰ On the political theology of Daniel 4, see Klaus Koch, "Gottes Herrschaft über das Reich des Menschen: Daniel 4 im Licht neuer Funde," in *The Book of Daniel: In the Light of New Findings* (ed. A.S. van der Woude; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 112-116 (here, p. 113).

is at the helm of even the absolute dominion that the ruler of the human empire exercises. Only insofar as the human ruler acknowledges the divine ownership of dominion can the ruler continuously prosper. In this section I would like to discuss the ideology of rule in Daniel 4 with a special focus on the idea of dominion.

Let me begin by analyzing the conceptualization of dominion in the dream vision of King Nebuchadnezzar. The great tree's appearance is visible even to the ends of the whole world (Dan 4:8). According to Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, the tree's visibility at an utmost distance indicates that the monarch's "dominion" extends to the ends of the earth (Dan 4:19). This seems to mean that Daniel equates the tree's reaching to heaven with the monarch's ruling of the world. Why then is the monarch's dominion the cause for God's humbling him to the level of a beast? I propose that God does so because Nebuchadnezzar abuses dominion that God entrusts to the monarch. This point is demonstrated through the literary allusion in Nebuchadnezzar to Adam. Daniel 4 emphasizes that the "Most High" rules the "empire of humankind" through a surrogate king whom the deity chooses (Dan 4:14, 22, 29). The biblical background of the Danielic concept of divine sovereignty through a human agent may well stem from the creation narrative of Adam in Genesis.²⁶¹ There God appoints Adam as a mediator of God's rule over the whole world. Adam plays deputy of the divine domination.

The image of Adam as the divinely appointed ruler is transmitted to King Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel. The monarch is evocative of Adam when God gives "the beasts of the field, the birds of the sky" to the hand of the monarch and makes him to rule over them all (Dan 2:38).²⁶² The royal image that is shared between Adam and Nebuchadnezzar may well be

²⁶¹ Seow, *Daniel*, 44, claim that Dan 2:38 echoes the creation of Adam in Gen 1:26.

²⁶² So Doukhan, "Allusions à la création dans le livre de Daniel," 286.

better observed in the explicit verbal consonances between Adam of Targum Genesis 1 and Nebuchadnezzar of MT Daniel 4. God plans to make “Adam” so that Adam “dominates” (יִשְׁלֹטוּן)²⁶³ “the birds of the sky” and “the animals” (*Tg. Onq/Ps. -J./Neof.* Gen 1:26). Then God creates “Adam” and entrusts Adam with dominion over all living things, commanding, “Become strong over the earth (תִּקְוֹפּוּ עַלְהָ)²⁶⁴ and “Dominate”! (שְׁלֹטוּ) (*Tg. Onq./Ps. -J./Neof.* Gen 1:28). The language of the Genesis account of the creation of Adam is recycled in the depiction of Nebuchadnezzar as the gargantuan tree in Daniel. It is stressed that, evoking Adam, the monarch “becomes strong” (תִּקְוֹ) and extending his “dominion” (שְׁלֹטָן) to the end of the “earth” (Dan 4:8, 17, 19). The living creatures that God submits to Adam in Genesis are found under the rule of Nebuchadnezzar. Thus the “birds of the sky” lodge in the tree’s branches and “the beasts of the field” dwell beneath the tree (Dan 4:8, 18).²⁶⁵ The greater significance, however, lies in the difference between these two human representatives of divine dominion. Unlike Adam in Genesis, Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel is implied as playing even the divine role in sustaining the life of all living things. In the beginning of the world, it is God who gives “food” (מִזֶּן) to “every beast” and “every bird” (*Tg. Neof.* Gen 1:30). By contrast, in the time of the Babylonian exile, the author of Daniel 4 insinuates that the divine sustainer is replaced by the imperial ruler. Nebuchadnezzar is imaged as the lofty tree that provides “food” (מִזֶּן) for the “birds” and the “beasts” (Dan 4:9, 18).

²⁶³ The Aramaic is third plural that seems to reflect MT Heb. יִרְדּוּ (let them rule).

²⁶⁴ Lit. “Become strong over it!” The Aramaic reflects MT Heb. כִּבְשָׁהּ (subdue it!). It is clear that in Gen 1:28 the feminine pronoun “it” anticipates the “earth.”

²⁶⁵ Doukhan, “Allusions à la création dans le livre de Daniel,” 287, rightly argues that the vision of the tree alludes to the Genesis Adam as protector of the beasts of the field and the birds of heaven.

What is more, both the “birds” and the “beasts” that are protected and nourished by the tree/Nebuchadnezzar are not the same living creatures that we find in the creation narrative in Genesis. The birds and the beasts that Genesis describes are reidentified in Daniel as the subjugated people of the Babylonian Empire. This zoomorphic representation of imperial subordinates deserves our closer attention. For it makes us see that the typological analogy between Adam and Nebuchadnezzar proceeds to elaborate on the theological critique of imperialism. God benevolently feeds the nonhuman creatures, whereas Nebuchadnezzar feeds humankind only to reign over it.

The critique of imperialism in Daniel hinges on the Genesis concept of dominion. According to the creation narrative in Genesis, the dominion that the divine creator entrusts to Adam was intended to preserve only the *nonhuman* creatures. It is not “humankind” itself but rather all the rest of the living creatures that God commands “humankind” to dominate (Gen 1:26-27).²⁶⁶ In alluding to Adam who rules the world of the nonhuman creatures in Genesis, the author of Daniel 4 seems to invite the intended audiences/readers to observe whom Nebuchadnezzar rules. In doing so, the author communicates to them the message that, unlike Adam, Nebuchadnezzar *illegitimately* wields the scepter over humankind. As I clarify above, both the “birds of the sky” and the “beasts of the field” in the dream vision of the monarch are the metaphorical representation of various peoples that the monarch has conquered (Dan 4:9, 11, 18).²⁶⁷ This becomes clearer in Old Greek Daniel. There “the birds of the air” nesting in the tree

²⁶⁶ The translators of NRSV render here “Adam” (אָדָם) as “humankind” (Gen 1:26-27).

²⁶⁷ The “beasts of the field” (חַיַּית הַבָּרָא) under the great tree evoke Jer 27:6-7, where the “beasts of the field” (חַיַּית הַשָּׂדֶה) as “all the nations” serve Nebuchadnezzar. Similarly, in Ezek 31:6, the “birds of the air” and the “the beasts of the field” are “all great nations” under the Assyrian rule. Rather differently, in the Enochic Animal Apocalypse the birds and the beasts often play the foreign invaders of Israel that is symbolized by the sheep. Both “the wild beasts” and “the birds” devour the sheep (*1 En.* 89:68; 90:2).

are construed as the “nations” and “languages,” both of which “serve” the monarch (OG Dan 4:21). The quintessence of Nebuchadnezzar’s rebellion in Daniel 4 may well be suggested, therefore, as his rebellion against the divine intention for the use of dominion. He misdirects dominion to other human beings that is originally supposed to be directed to nonhuman creatures. The result is horrible. Through the allusion to Genesis the author of Daniel 4 betrays that Nebuchadnezzar transforms the divinely-originated rule to the most destructive force against humankind in general as well as the people of God. In Genesis God designed dominion to preserve the harmony between the human beings and the nonhuman creatures. Using dominion, however, the monarch apotheosized the Babylonian Empire and enslaves the subjugated nations to his absolute rule. As we have seen in Daniel 3, he mercilessly oppresses the whole humankind to consolidate his imperial rule over it. Either sparing or slaying his subjects—“all peoples, clans, and languages”—Nebuchadnezzar uses God-endowed power to worship the statue symbolic of the empire of humankind, on which God sets the monarch (Dan 4:14, 22, 29; 5:19). Even the saints of God are threatened by the tyrant to worship the idolatrous symbol of imperialism (cf. Dan 3:14-15). As King Darius declares, it is only God before whom all should “fear and tremble” (Dan 6:27). King Nebuchadnezzar, however, makes everyone “tremble and fear” before him (Dan 5:19). The tyrant not only abuses dominion. He also steals reverence that should be otherwise attributed by humankind to its creator deity.

This royal instigator of the imperial cult is evaluated by Daniel as a usurper of divine dominion: Although God benevolently grants Nebuchadnezzar “sovereignty,” the monarch hardens his spirit “to behave arrogantly” (Dan 5:20). Just like the tower of Babel, the tyrant’s heart “is lifted up” (Dan 5:20). The hubris of King Nebuchadnezzar is personified in his deliberate abuse of divine dominion. Who this royal abuser of dominion is and what he

perpetrates are summarized in Daniel's piece of advice for him: "Atone for your sins with righteousness and your iniquities with mercy to the oppressed" (Dan 4:24). The monarch is in urgent need of atonement for his sins and iniquities—all resulting from his misuse of dominion. It is hardly astonishing that he overlooks the advice of Daniel. His exile among the animals becomes accordingly unavoidable. The transformation of Nebuchadnezzar is in principle the divine discipline.

Here I would like to explain two important points. First, the monarch's transformation results from the monarch's transgression. What is the essence of his transgression? To regulate the human beings, Nebuchadnezzar makes illegitimate use of dominion. In Genesis God designs dominion to be fit for the nonhuman creatures. Yet the monarch uses it for his own imperialistic purpose. He actually transforms the usage of dominion given to Adam. The reaction of God conveys a trenchant irony. The tyrant who transforms the nature of dominion of Adam is made by God to suffer from transformation. As the monarch turns dominion from the animals to the human, God converts him from the human to the bestial. By doing so God unequivocally objects to humankind's imperialistic exploitation of divine dominion.

This brings me to my second point: the divinely-forced transformation of the monarch to a loathsome creature should be taken to be the divine assessment of the monarch as unworthy of the divine image. The point is emphasized by the allusion to Adam in Nebuchadnezzar. In Genesis God installs Adam as the ruler of the cosmos because God creates only Adam according to the "image" of God (Gen 1:27). In other words, the creation account of Adam in Genesis implies that the right of Adam to be representative of the divine domination is grounded solely on the divine image in Adam. Both the divine image and the divine right are inextricably integrated with each other in Adam. As a result, only insofar as the divine image of Adam is

preserved, can Adam be the glorious dominator of all other creatures. The interrelationship between both holds true with Nebuchadnezzar, the Adam-evoking disloyal ruler in Daniel. Namely, Nebuchadnezzar's abuse of the divine dominion is inevitably correlated with his loss of the human image. In Daniel 4 we observe that as Nebuchadnezzar improperly uses dominion, the monarch accordingly forfeits the divine image in himself. Thus Nebuchadnezzar's bestial metamorphosis indicates God's punitive confiscation of the divine image from him. As the monarch abuses dominion, he becomes undeserved for the divine image.

Therefore, the divine punishment of Nebuchadnezzar is expressed by the motif of "image." The Genesis Adam is created in the glorious "image" (צֶלֶם) of God (Gen 1:26, 27). In some sense, the Daniel Adam assaults the divine image of humankind when he terrorizes humankind into worshipping the idolatrous "image" (צֶלֶם) that he makes (Dan 3:5, 7, 10, 15). When Daniel's three companions rebut the command of Nebuchadnezzar, changed is only the "expression (צֶלֶם) of his face" (Dan 3:19).²⁶⁸ The divine reaction to the angry tyrant occurs much more severely. God allows the monarch's mentality to "be changed" from human to bestial (Dan 4:13). In addition, the monarch's body is transfigured into a grotesque hybrid—a complete forfeiture of the image of God (Dan 4:30). The primordial Adam is driven out by God from the Garden of Eden that Adam dominates into the wild area. Just so, Adamlike Nebuchadnezzar is thrown out by God from the imperial society that the monarch controls into the world of animals.

The divine judgment on Nebuchadnezzar's exploitation of dominion is reinforced by the motif of "time." In the plain of Dura the despot is depicted as insistently appointing a specified moment of "time" (זְמַן/עֵת) when his all subordinates must follow his command to worship the image (Dan 3:5, 7, 15). The monarch's yearning to monopolize time is emphasized when he

²⁶⁸ Fewell, *Circle of Sovereignty*, 51.

prevents his counselors from gaining “time” and accuses them of looking for the change of “time” (Dan 2:8-9). The author of Daniel 4, however, declares that it is not Nebuchadnezzar but God who can control time. Hence, unlike the monarch’s courtly sages, God changes “time” at will (Dan 2:21). Stripping the monarch of dominion, God appoints “seven times” (שִׁבְעָה עֲדָנִין) during which the rebel must acknowledge that the sole sovereign of the realm of humankind governs time as well (Dan 4:13, 20, 25, 29). Thus precisely at the “time” (זֶמֶן) Nebuchadnezzar reaches full recognition of God’s “dominion,” God allows the monarch to return to his glorious human status—the monarch’s regaining of the image of God (Dan 4:33-34).

The whole connotation revolving around the literary allusion to Genesis in Daniel gives us a fascinating glimpse into the rule of ideology in Daniel. The zoomorphic transformation of Nebuchadnezzar conveys an early Jewish understanding of imperialism in light of the Jewish anthropogeny of the creation account in Genesis. Nebuchadnezzar, a political leader of the human empire, is envisaged as a deputy of God. Like Adam, the monarch holds dominion bequeathed by God. When the monarch abuses dominion, he devastates the human society in his charge. Moreover, as implied in his vision of the tree reaching to heaven, he stretches his dominion illegitimately into the domain of God. The exploitation of dominion leads to his debasement to the status of a beast.²⁶⁹ At last, Nebuchadnezzar, a rebellious Adam who abuses the divinely commissioned dominion, turns out to be a ruler with the mind of beasts (Dan 4:13). The tyrant, who wields his absolute power and intrudes into the realm of the heavenly sovereign, is helplessly degraded to a member of the animal world. He has his “dwelling place” and “portion” among the wild animals (Dan 4:20, 22). As a matter of fact, even before he becomes a beast, he animalizes others. Put another way, in the human empire, where Nebuchadnezzar

²⁶⁹ Fewell, *Circle of Sovereignty*, 72, 143 n. 10.

seriously mishandles the divinely-ordained dominion, not only the imperialistic master but also all the subordinates no longer preserve their human qualities. This is probably the darkest aspect of imperialism that the author of Daniel 4 debunks. This point explains why God envisions the human society in control of Nebuchadnezzar as the world of nonhuman beings such as wild animals and the birds (Dan 4:9, 11, 18). The monarch resembles the great tree that yields fruit to all of those animals. Here the implication of the tree-animal symbolism is highly satirical: However abundantly the subjugated peoples enjoy the fruit of the monarch, they all exist only as animals. Imperial society is truly luxurious. Yet it is merely a habitat of animals that is sustained by the food-provider king, who is the most monstrous animal-hybrid. The theological criticism that Daniel 4 levels to the human abuse of political power may well be summed up in the statement of Donald E. Gowan:

“The Old Testament conviction about the remarkable gifts of man, expressed in Gen. 1:28 and elsewhere, has been confirmed ... Modern man has made himself master, not only of the inanimate world and non-human creatures but has found ways to exercise godlike powers over his fellow-men ... [M]en can, indeed, act like a god, but cannot do it successfully, that the result of such hybris have always been disastrous and are bound to be, because his greatness is not his own attribute but a gift derived from a higher being; and that when he acts in denial of his dependence on that source he loses his greatness, and reverts to bestiality.”²⁷⁰

I would like to conclude my discussion of the bestial transformation in Daniel 4 with its interaction with other animal images in the apocalyptic section of Daniel. Nebuchadnezzar, the theriomorphic emperor in Daniel 4, is designed to forecast the apocalyptic representation of other four emperors as polymorphous beasts in Daniel 7 and 8.²⁷¹ Thus, like Nebuchadnezzar in

²⁷⁰ Donald E. Gowan, *When Man Becomes God: Humanism and Hybris in the Old Testament* (PTMS 6; Pittsburgh: The Pickwick Press, 1975), 117; 127-128 (emphasis original).

²⁷¹ So Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel*, 76.

metamorphosis, these four emperors take on animal-image in the vision of Daniel. In Daniel's vision the "four great beasts" stand for the "four emperors" (Dan 7:17).²⁷² In particular, these four emperors have in common images of predators: lion, eagle, bear, and leopard (Dan 7:4-6). All these beasts symbolize "imperial political and military power."²⁷³ As with Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 4, dominion is given to or taken from these emperors (Dan 7:6, 12). In the next vision in Daniel 8 imperial masters are shown to have the image of horned beasts. Thus the ram with two horns represents the emperors of Media and Persia (Dan 8:20). The male goat refers to the emperor of Greece with its four horns signifying the emperor's four successors (Dan 8:21-22). Therefore, political leaders of the nations in Daniel are envisioned as terrifying beasts.

Equally interesting is the fact that the composite bestial image in Daniel 4 recurs in the apocalyptic depiction of the imperial rulers in Daniel 7. Nebuchadnezzar is portrayed as a grotesque animal-hybrid with multiple bestial images: His diet is shared with oxen, his hair resembles eagle's feathers, and his nails are like birds' claws (Dan 4:30). In similar fashion, the first and third emperors are shown to have multiple animalistic features. The first emperor in the vision, who seems to be the animalized Nebuchadnezzar, has the image of two different animals. He is like a lion and simultaneously has the wings like those of an eagle (Dan 7:4). The third emperor resembles a leopard with four wings of a bird (Dan 7:6). These two emperors show the abnormal combination of the wild beast and the wings of fowls. They are of a different species and totally unknown to the human world. In this respect, imperialism that these strange beasts

²⁷² Collins, "The Court-Tales in Daniel," 233, regards this as an example of a "development from the tales to the visions." The analogous use of animal images is found in Isa 27:1; 30:7; 51:9-11; Ezek 29:3-7; Pss 68:30; 74:13; 80:13; 87:4; Job 7:12; 26:12-13; and Rev 13:1-18.

²⁷³ Richard A. Horsley, *Revolt of the Scribes: Resistance and Apocalyptic Origins* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2010), 86.

advocate is imagined, to use Tina Pippin's terminology, as something like "alien."²⁷⁴ In addition to strangeness, the fourth beast inspires sheer terror. Its peerless brutality is couched in its exceptional change of external appearance: "It has been transformed more than all the beasts before it (הִיא מְשֻׁנָּה מִן־כָּל־חַיּוֹתָא דִּי קִדְמֶיהָ) (Dan 7:7).²⁷⁵ Although the fourth beast is still designated "beast" by Daniel, it goes nevertheless beyond the category of animal. It is perverted more than the previous three unnaturally configured beasts. It is most mutated and, accordingly, stronger than any of its fellows (Dan 7:20). Indeed, it frustrates Daniel's descriptive competence (Dan 7:19). It is an indescribable monster that personifies imperial military violence (Dan 7:7, 18-19, 23). The monster is implied even as an animal-human fusion when it is reported to have eyes like humans (Dan 7:8). The monster denotes the worldly hegemony in opposition to the sovereignty of God, evoking, in the words of Gunkel, "Chaos Monsters" of the Babylonian-Jewish tradition such as Tiamat, Leviathan, Rahab, and Behemoth.²⁷⁶ Yet, what is envisioned as subdued in Daniel 7 is not a "primeval power of chaos."²⁷⁷ Rather, it is these "destructive empires" that in the divine court of eschatological judgment God stripes of power.²⁷⁸ The

²⁷⁴ Tina Pippin, *Apocalyptic Bodies: The Biblical Image of the End of the World in Text and Image* (London: Routledge, 1999), 87-92; Timothy K. Beal, *Religion and Its Monsters* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 88.

²⁷⁵ My translation, "It has been transformed . . .," is indebted to Portier-Young's translation: "it was mutated . . ." (Portier-Young, *Apocalypse against Empire*, 171).

²⁷⁶ Herman Gunkel, *Creation and Chaos in the Primeval Era and the Eschaton: A Religio-Historical Study of Genesis 1 and Revelation 12* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2006), 59, 208-209. Recent studies on the biblical imagination of monsters are helpful for understanding animal symbolism in Daniel. E.g., Pippin, *Apocalyptic Bodies*, 71-85; and, Christopher A. Frilingos, *Spectacles of Empire: Monster, Martyrs, and the Book of Revelation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 39-63, 123 n. 28.

²⁷⁷ Collins, *Daniel*, 289.

²⁷⁸ Horsley, *Revolt of the Scribes*, 87. Criticizing Collins' interpretation that imposes a Canaanite myth onto Daniel's vision, Horsley perceptively adds: "The one 'coming with the clouds of heaven' (7:13-14) in the dream is not directly involved in destroying the beast(s)" (p. 87). Indeed, the divine destroyer of the beast(s) turns out to be the enthroned God called the "Most High" (Dan 7:22).

symbolism of the grotesque animals that pervades Daniel, therefore, functions as describing imperialism, the prime adversary of Israel's God.²⁷⁹

The apocalyptic worldview that *monstrous* rulers exercise control over the present world is intimately bound with the eschatological expectation for the inauguration of the divine empire. The thematic progression becomes clear through analogies between Daniel 4 and Daniel 7. Nebuchadnezzar's height "reaches" (מָטָה) to heaven (Dan 4:17). The one like a son of man "reaches" (מָטָה) to the enthroned deity in the heavenly hall (Dan 7:13). Both the ruler of the human empire and the ruler of the divine empire allude to Adam whom God ordains as the representative of the divine rule.²⁸⁰ As the Most High sets Nebuchadnezzar over the "human empire," so the Ancient One gives the humanlike ruler the "empire" and "dominion" (Dan 4:14, 21, 29; 5:21; 7:14). More important, these analogies bring to the foreground the difference in domination between these two rulers. If Nebuchadnezzar is a ruler who revives the rebellion that begins from Babel of old, the one like a son of man is a ruler who ends the rebellion forever. In Daniel 7, invoking Adam, the humanlike ruler receives dominion from God and, as a God-chosen mediator, he establishes the divine providence in the world. This means that in the end of time he recovers the orderly world that God established in the primeval time.²⁸¹ Simultaneously,

²⁷⁹ Daniel and the Animal Apocalypse (*1 Enoch* 85-90) have been examined in terms of the use of animal symbolism. E.g., Paul A. Porter, *Metaphors and Monsters: A Literary-Critical Study of Daniel 7 and 8* (Toronto: Reproduction House, 1985), 43-60; and, James R. Davila, "The Animal Apocalypse and Daniel," in *Enoch and Qumran Origin: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005), 35-38.

²⁸⁰ Paul Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter: nach den Quellen der rabbinischen, apokalyptischen und apokryphen Literatur* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1934), 189-190, suggests that the Danielic son of man functions as Adam (Urmensch or Uradam). On this kind of interpretation of the Danielic son of man, see Jürg Egger, *Influences and Traditions Underlying the Vision of Daniel 7:2-14: The Research History from the End of the 19th Century to the Present* (OBO 177; Fribourg: University Press Fribourg Switzerland, 2000), 94-95.

²⁸¹ Gunkel, *Creation and Chaos*, 250, claims that Genesis 1 and Revelation 12 present "the same materials which appear here two times, although in a different form." Gunkel's thesis is reviewed in

this further means that creation and chaos shall never be repeated throughout human history. The eschatology that Daniel 7 paints is irrelevant to “a pattern of *Urzeit wird Endzeit*” or the Eliadean idea of eternal return.²⁸² Quite to the contrary, Daniel 7 declares that the divine combat with chaos will be *ultimately* ended by the advent of the divinely ordained ruler in a humanlike form.²⁸³ After the advent of this apocalyptic ruler, the most powerful hybrid monster representative of chaos is “annihilated and destroyed forever” (Dan 7:26). The chaos never returns. Only the divine dominion is “forever—forever and ever” (Dan 7:18).

The new beginning of the divine order that permanently remains is strengthened by the discrepancy in rule between Nebuchadnezzar and the humanlike ruler. Again, the difference between the two rulers is highlighted through their allusion to Adam. Unlike Nebuchadnezzar, the ruler like a human being does not reduce the human society to the world of animals. Thus the empire that the ruler dominates is defined as the society of the saints of God (Dan 7:27). With the advent of the humanlike ruler, the beastlike rulers’ abuse of dominion ceases forever. Moreover, the rule of the humanlike ruler differs from that of Adam, too. In Genesis what the first human being rules is the world of animals such as fish, birds, animals, and every creeping thing that creeps on the earth (Gen 1:26, 28). In Daniel, with dominion God bestows, the humanlike ruler holds mastery not over the world of animal creatures but over the world of humankind—“all peoples, clans, and languages” (Dan 7:14). The humankind is redeemed by the humanlike ruler. In short, Adam’s image as God’s representative is in *transmission* to the one like a son of man, whereas the object of dominion is in *transformation* from Adam to the

Richard J. Clifford, S.J., “The Roots of Apocalypticism in Near Eastern Myth,” in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism Vol I* (ed. John J. Collins; New York: Continuum, 1998), 3-5.

²⁸² See Lacocque, “Allusions to Creation in Daniel 7,” 119.

²⁸³ Wilson, “Creation and New Creation,” 202-203.

humanlike ruler. The divine empire of the humanlike ruler does not restore the world that God created in the beginning of time. Rather, it launches an eternal world of holy people that God rescues in the end of time (Dan 7:22).

D. The Exegetical Stream of Allusion: Genesis, Daniel, Pseudo-Philo, and *Third Baruch*

The satirical portraiture of imperialism as animalizing human society in Daniel 4 finds several analogies in the literature of early Judaism. Both Daniel 4 and its analogical texts constitute an exegetical stream of the accounts of Babel in Genesis. For example, Pseudo-Philo and the Greek *Apocalypse of Baruch* (3 *Baruch*) appear to bear the imprint of the motif of bestial transformation in Daniel 4. As I discussed earlier, in rewriting Israel's sacred history, Pseudo-Philo (135 B.C.E – 70 A.D.) elaborates exegetically on the exemplary piety of Abraham.²⁸⁴ While opposing the leaders of the tower-builders who threaten Abraham to join their brick-making, the Patriarch conjures up the image of Daniel's three companions (*L.A.B.* 6.4). The faithful Abraham is cast into a blazing furnace, but, echoing the three saints in Daniel 3, he is found invulnerable to fire (*L.A.B.* 6.16, 18). God stirs up a great earthquake, having fire from the furnace consume the builders (*L.A.B.* 6.17). Despite these divine wonders, the sinful congregation and its leaders decide to strengthen themselves against God and collaborate on the tower-construction (*L.A.B.* 7.1). If Pseudo-Philo integrates Daniel 3 with Genesis 11 to explain the devoutness of Abraham, the Jewish Pseudepigraphon recycles Daniel 4 to underscore the ungodliness of the tower-builders. Particularly, the motif of theriomorphic metamorphosis is in transmission from Nebuchadnezzar of Daniel to the tower-builders of Pseudo-Philo. In Daniel 4 the Most High

²⁸⁴ Daniel J. Harrington, "Pseudo-Philo," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2 (ed. James H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985), 299. Recently, Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum Vol 1*, 199-210, suggests a post 70 date.

transforms Nebuchadnezzar, the builder of Babel, to a horrid beast (Dan 4:30). For the author of Pseudo-Philo, the Babylonian emperor's transformation has a literary precedent in the monarch's ancestry: The deity "changed ... appearances" (mutavit ... effigies) of the builders of Babel (*L.A.B.* 7.5). As a result, the builders are transformed to birds and wild animals: "I will assign them to the cliffs, and they will build for themselves abodes in nests of stalks and will dig caves for themselves and live there like beasts of the field" (*L.A.B.* 7:3). A verbal similarity signals the transmission of the motif. Those dwelling in caves like "beasts of the field" (*fere campi*) in Pseudo-Philo call deliberately forth the "beasts of the field" (חַיֵּי הַשָּׂדֶה) dwelling under the tree in Daniel (*L.A.B.* 7:3; Dan 4:9, 11, 18).²⁸⁵ Equally obvious is conceptual kinship that links both works. Those who build abodes in nests in Pseudo-Philo are representative of the birds having nests on the branches of the great tree in Daniel (*L.A.B.* 7:3; Dan 4:9, 11, 18). Hence, the two kinds of animal-images of the tower-builders in Pseudo-Philo are continued in the images used for the subjugated peoples of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel (Dan 4:9, 11, 18). The authors of Daniel 4 and Pseudo-Philo envision God as hostile to the imperial social system that defies the sovereignty of God. It is clear that Daniel 4 and Pseudo-Philo regard the bestial transformation as God's punishment on rebels.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁵ Sherman, "Translating the Tower," 263, finds lexical parallel only between Nebuchadnezzar and the tower-builders (Daniel 4:29 in *L.A.B.* 7:3). Yet one should not overlook the fact that in Daniel 4 the animal image (birds and wild beasts) is used to describe the subjugated population of the Babylonian Empire in distinction to Emperor Nebuchadnezzar as the great tree (Dan 4:9, 11, 18). Pseudo-Philo, too, employs the same animal imagery to depict the members of the imperial *society* of the prehistorical Babel.

²⁸⁶ Sherman, "Translating the Tower," 261, agreeing with Jacobson (*A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, 384), holds that God's changing appearances of the tower-builders indicates God's making physical differences among the human races. I find their reading unpersuasive. In Pseudo-Philo, like God's scattering them, God's transforming them into animals should be construed as God's judgment on their persistent rebellion. The critical overtones of the bestial transformation in Pseudo-Philo are undeniable. As in the transformation of Nebuchadnezzar, it is because they flagrant arrogance towards God that the deity animalizes them.

The dehumanized form of the imperial society in Daniel 4 finds a closer analogy in 3 *Baruch* (first to second centuries A.D.).²⁸⁷ The appropriation of Daniel by 3 *Baruch* seems to be unmistakable from the outset. As in the introductory section of Daniel (Dan 1:1-2), the prologue of 3 *Baruch* begins with Nebuchadnezzar's sacking of the Jerusalem temple. Evoking the Danielic deity who handed over to Nebuchadnezzar the king of Judah and the holy vessels of the temple, the author of 3 *Baruch* shows the deity as allowing the Babylonian king to destroy Jerusalem (3 *Bar.* 1:1). As Harlow rightly perceives, Baruch, the protagonist of the apocalypse, laments over the destruction of Jerusalem.²⁸⁸ What deserves our closer attention, however, is that Baruch's lament is formulated in a way evocative of Daniel's lament. In his penitential prayer Daniel grieves over the "devastation" (ἐρημώσεις) of Israel, bemoaning the fact that God's people became a "reproach" (ὀνειδισμός) to all those around them (OG Dan 9:16, 18). While Daniel is still speaking in prayer, the angel Gabriel comes to him (Dan 9:20-21). Calling Daniel "a man beloved" (ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμιῶν), Gabriel exhorts him to understand (συνίημι) the vision regarding the restoration of Jerusalem (Th. Dan 9:23). It would seem that Baruch's prayer and God's response in 3 *Baruch* are modeled on Daniel's prayer and God's response in Daniel. In his weeping and wailing, therefore, Baruch presses a poignant question asking why God "devastates" (ἐρημώω) God's land and allows the nations to reproach (ὀνειδίζω) God's people (3 *Bar.* 1:2). While Baruch is still speaking such things, an "angel of the Lord" comes to Baruch and urges the

²⁸⁷ Harry. E. Gaylord Jr., "3 (Greek Apocalypse of) Baruch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Vol 2*, 655-656. Recently, Daniel C. Harlow, *The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch) in Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity* (SVTP 12; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 9-10, dates the Apocalypse to the late first or early second century, seeing it as a literary reaction to the Roman destruction of the Jerusalem temple.

²⁸⁸ Harlow, *The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch)*, 88.

“man beloved” (ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμιῶν) to “understand” (συνίημι) the salvation of Jerusalem (*3 Bar.* 1:3).²⁸⁹

Clearly transferring the context of Daniel 1 and 9 to the fabric of *3 Baruch*, Baruch’s heavenly journey alludes to the motif of bestial transformation in Daniel 4. As in Pseudo-Philo, *3 Baruch* uses the Danielic motif to rework the Babel account in Genesis 11. Yet, both Pseudo-Philo and *3 Baruch* show significant differences in appropriating the motif of bestial transformation in Daniel 4. As in Daniel 4, Pseudo-Philo employs the motif to articulate the divine judgment of rebellious imperial society. *3 Baruch* draws on the motif from Daniel 4,²⁹⁰ but more specifically than Pseudo-Philo. In Daniel 4 there are two different animal images that are used to depict the Babylonian imperial society. The subordinates of Nebuchadnezzar are represented by the birds and the wild beasts in the dream vision of the monarch. Nebuchadnezzar, the head of their imperial society, is shown as a monstrous animal-hybrid more detestable than the natural animal-forms of the subordinate workers. *3 Baruch* takes up the motif of bestial transformation in Daniel 4, while following the Danielic distinction in form between the master and the subordinate. Baruch is led by the angel to the first heaven where he sees a “plain” (πεδίοον) and people who “dwell” (κατοικέω) thereon (*3 Bar.* 2:3). Transposing the plain in the land of Shinar from the earthly level to the celestial level, *3 Baruch* integrates the narrative in Genesis 11 with the motif of beastly transfiguration in Daniel 4. In the celestial plain the people have “the faces of oxen,” “the horns of stags,” “the feet of goats,” and “the haunches of lamb” (*3 Bar.* 2:3).

²⁸⁹ Harlow, *The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch)*, 89-90, suggests that the Baruchian phrase, a “greatly beloved man” (ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμιῶν), reflects Dan 10:11-12, which I see, unlike in Dan 9:20-23, lacking the specific context of Daniel’s lament and God’s response.

²⁹⁰ Sherman, “Translating the Tower,” 263-266, suggests that the influence of Daniel 4 on the theriomorphic image of *3 Baruch* flows from the cultural context of ancient Alexandria.

Evidently, the theriomorphic Babelites in *3 Baruch* allude to the primordial congregation that finds “plain (πεδίον) of the land of Shinar and dwells (κατοικέω) there” (OG Gen 11:2). The guiding angel Phamael tells Baruch that they are tower-builders in Babel. Whatever “those who built the tower of war against God” (οἱ τὸν πύργον τῆς θεομαχίας οἰκοδομήσαντες) means,²⁹¹ it is clear that the phraseology is an exegetical representation of the builders of the lofty tower in Genesis (*3 Bar.* 2:7). More important, the animalized congregation of the first heaven in *3 Baruch* refers to the subjugated workers under the rule of their political leaders at Babel. Their leaders are introduced in Baruch’s journey to the second heaven. There Baruch is guided to see their animalistic shapes in another celestial plain. The appearances of these leaders are only slightly different from those of the workers in the first heaven. These leaders have semblance like that of “dogs” and their feet look like those of “stags” (*3 Bar.* 3:3). Although these two zoomorphic depictions of the worker group and its leader group are quite similar in form, they are not the “result of an editorial elaboration.”²⁹² Rather, *3 Baruch* deliberately envisages a hierarchical imperial society by depicting two separate groups that are divided into governing class and exploited class.²⁹³ In contrast to the lower social group of workers in the first heaven, therefore, the upper social group in the second heaven is identified as planners and controllers of the tower construction. They “drove forth multitudes of both men and women, to make bricks” (*3 Bar.* 3:5). King Nebuchadnezzar dominates his subjects ruthlessly and unjustly

²⁹¹ The Baruchian phraseology, “tower of war against God,” may well be a Jewish expression of idolatry, on which Philo’s allegorical interpretation of Gen 11:1-9 focuses. In *De somniis* Philo delineates some pagan rulers as atheistic anarchists, who in their insane pride build a doctrine and speak atrocious words reaching to heaven (*Somn.* 2:283-284, 286, 290).

²⁹² Pace Alexander Kulik, *3 Baruch: Greek-Slavonic Apocalypse of Baruch* (CEJL; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, 2010), 139.

²⁹³ See Sherman, “Translating the Tower,” 258; and, Harlow, *The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch)*, 110. A Talmudic tradition, *b. Sanh.* 109a, provides a parallel text, where the Babelites are divided into three distinguishable groups. One of the three groups is transformed to apes.

(Dan 4:24). In similar fashion, these leaders are characterized as brutally oppressive. They compel, for example, the female brick-makers to work even in the very moment of their child-birthing (*3 Bar.* 3:5). In short, the Danielic motif of bestial transformation is formative in the Jewish exegetical tradition in which Babel is represented as an animalized society. Various using the motif, both Daniel 4 and its literary reflexes conceptualize in common the hierarchical imperial society as the great social evil that degrades humankind and dismantles the human relationships with each other.

Chapter Four: The Use of Ezekiel in Daniel

I. Preliminary Research of the Prophets in Daniel

Numerous studies have attempted to explore the origins of ancient Jewish apocalypticism. It is now widely recognized that, within the realm of the Hebrew Bible, both prophecy and wisdom provided the foundations with apocalyptic texts of early Judaism.¹ The sapiential impacts on ancient apocalypticism have been well examined in the various literature of the Second Temple period.² Likewise, the imprints of the prophetic tradition in apocalyptic compositions of ancient Israel have been articulated in terms of the linguistic and ideological kinship.³ The recent scholarship on inner-biblical interpretation in Daniel has revolved mainly around the use of prophetic books in Daniel. In surveying some important points that scholars have made regarding exegetical use of Prophets in Daniel, I will limit myself to outlining only three major prophetic books: Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel, on which I will focus in this chapter.

¹ The bibliography is enormous. For a start, see Lorenzo DiTommaso, "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism in Antiquity (Part II)," *CBR* 5/3 (2007): 367-432.

² See Hans-Peter Müller, "Mantische Weisheit und Apokalyptik," in *Congress Volume, Uppsala 1971* (VTSup 22; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), 268-293; John C. VanderKam, "The Prophetic-Sapiential Origins of Apocalyptic Thought," in *A Word in Season: Essays in Honour of William McKane* (ed. J.D. Martin and P.R. Davies; JSOTSup 42; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1986), 163-176; George W.E. Nickelsburg, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism in Early Judaism: Some Points for Discussion," in *SBL 1994 Seminar Papers* (SBLSP 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 715-732; and, Matthias Henze, "Qoheleth and the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch," *CBQ* 58/1 (2008): 28-43.

³ Particularly notable is the transition from prophetic to apocalyptic eschatology. See Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 8-12; Benjamin Uffenheimer, "From Prophetic to Apocalyptic Eschatology," in *Eschatology in the Bible and in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (ed. Henning Graf Reventlow; JSOTSup 243; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1977), 200-217; and, John J. Collins, "From Prophecy to Apocalypticism: The Expectation of the End," in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism Vol I: The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. idem; New York: Continuum, 1998), 129-161. On the controversial ideal of proto-apocalyptic, see Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (1975); Stephen L. Cook, *Prophecy & Apocalypticism: The Postexilic Social Setting* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995); and, Hong Pyo Ha, "The Emergence of Proto-Apocalyptic Worldviews in the Neo-Babylonian Period: An Analysis of Selected Passages from Ezekiel and Isaiah 40-55" (Ph.D. diss., Drew University, 2009).

A. Jeremiah in Daniel

Jeremiah's impact on Daniel is remarkable. For example, scholars have long paid attention to inner-biblical interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy of seventy years of the Babylonian exile in Daniel 9. There the angel Gabriel visits Daniel who "understood" the number of years that Jeremiah previously forecast (Dan 9:2). But the *angelus interpretes* corrects Daniel's perception of Jeremiah's prophecy by shifting the period of Jerusalem's devastation from "seventy years" to "seventy weeks" of years (Dan 9:2, 24). Ascribing the Gabriel discourse to "an exegetical midrash or pesher" on Jer 25:11-12 and 29:10, J. J. Collins asserts that Daniel's reinterpretation of the Jeremiah passage draws a contrast with the interpretation set forth by Chronicles and Zechariah.⁴ If Collins sees that Daniel 9 understands the Jeremiah texts differently from the other postexilic books, J. Applegate observes that Judaism behind Daniel 9 differently adapts the Jeremiah texts to two separate historical events, namely that, the text of Jer 25:11-14 went through "two processes of interpretation in Dan 9:24-26," showing that the Jeremian "seventy years" was first construed as a "reference to the desolation of the temple," and later, as a "reference to a new desolation of the temple faced by the writer of Daniel and his audience."⁵ Unlike Collins and Applegate who presume textual dependence of Daniel on Jeremiah, L. L. Grabbe takes a rather different route. For Grabbe, the author of Daniel 9 not so much interpreted directly Jeremiah's prophecy as he took over and modified an earlier oracle in circulation.⁶ In

⁴ John J. Collins, *Daniel: With an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature* (FOTL 20; Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1984), 91-92.

⁵ John Applegate, "Jeremiah and the Seventy Years in the Hebrew Bible: Inner-biblical reflections on the Prophet and His Prophecy," in *The Book of Jeremiah and its Reception: le Livre de Jérémie et sa Réception* (ed. Adrian H. W. Curtis and Thomas Römer; Louvain: Peeters, 1997), 108.

⁶ Lester G. Grabbe, "'The End of The Desolation of Jerusalem': From Jeremiah's 70 Years to Daniel's 70 Weeks of Years," in *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee* (SPHS 10; ed. Craig A. Evans and William F. Stinespring; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 70. The motif continues to circulate for beyond Daniel until the fall of the Jerusalem Temple. On this, see idem, "The Seventy-Weeks Prophecy (Daniel 9:24-27): In Early Jewish Interpretation," in *The Quest for*

doing so, Grabbe resorts to the motif of “the symbolic figure of 70” that is widely attested in other Jewish documents such as *I En* 85-90; 93:1-10; 91:11-17, *Sib. Or.* IV:49-101, and *J.W.* 6:311-313.⁷

M. Fishbane provides the best analysis of the interpretation of the Jeremiah prophecy in Daniel.⁸ He proposes that Daniel 9 reflects multiple biblical texts such as 2 Chronicle 36, Leviticus 25-26, and Isaiah 10:22-23. To explain the theological refashioning of Jeremiah’s prophecy in Daniel 9, he appeals to the theory of cognitive dissonance that L. Festinger first postulated⁹ and then R.P. Carroll applied to studies on biblical tradition.¹⁰ The theory is grounded in social psychology that stresses humankind’s experience of and response to psychological inconsistency between a credible new cognition and a previously existing cognition. This inconsistency as a “strong motivating force” leads an individual to change beliefs, attitudes, or behaviors in a way that either explains or modifies the cause of inconsistency.¹¹ For Carroll, Jewish apocalyptic was a theological “resolution of the dissonance caused by the lack of fulfillment of prophecy in the early post-exilic period.”¹² In other words, according to Carroll,

Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders (Craig A. Evans et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 595-611.

⁷ Grabbe, “From Jeremiah’s 70 Years to Daniel’s 70 Weeks of Years,” 70-71.

⁸ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (1985). Fishbane heavily embraces the tradition-history criticism. Especially, he uses the vocabulary of *tradtum* (content of tradition) and *traditio* (process of transmission), both of which he borrows from Douglas Knight, *Rediscovering the Traditions of Israel: The Development of the Traditio-Historical Research of the Old Testament, with Special Consideration of Scandinavian Contribution* (SBLDS 9; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975). Fishbane categorizes the interpretive material in the Hebrew Bible under three rubrics: “legal exegesis,” “aggadic exegesis,” and “mantological exegesis” that includes his analysis of Daniel 9.

⁹ Leon Festinger, *When Prophecy Fails* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956); and, idem, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957).

¹⁰ Robert P. Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed: Cognitive Dissonance in the Prophetic Traditions of the Old Testament* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1979).

¹¹ Robert P. Carroll, “Prophecy and Dissonance: A Theoretical Approach to the Prophetic Tradition,” *ZAW* 92/1 (1980):108.

¹² Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed*, 205.

the apocalyptic writers attempted to reinterpret the prophetic traditions of future salvation and transformed them to God's transcendental act on humankind (Dan 2:44-45; 7:9-27), and hence "the hermeneutic process of rationalization and explanation" can be traced in Dan 9:2, 24-27.¹³ Fishbane draws heavily on the Festinger/Carroll hypothesis. Like Carroll, Fishbane posits that Gabriel's interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy reflects the author's sense of "dissonance between prediction and reality."¹⁴ Fishbane claims that Daniel 9 resulted from such a cognitive dissonance that motivated the post-exilic author to establish "cognitive consonance" through his exegetical reworking of Jeremiah's unfulfilled oracle of seventy years.¹⁵ For Fishbane, therefore, Jewish apocalyptic literature is the "reworking of oracles" that are no longer valid yet turned into "inscribed and inscrutable data."¹⁶ The task of students of ancient "inner-biblical mantology" is to search the received oracles by "culling from them all traces of exegetical *traditio*."¹⁷

Fishbane's general method and his treatment of Daniel's use of Scripture could not evade criticism. Although Fishbane's discussion of ancient biblical interpretation is magisterial, he unmistakably reveals a methodological fault. As J. Kugel well perceives, Fishbane inaptly imposes on the biblical texts post-biblical exegetical categories that are developed by much later rabbinic authors of the Mishnah and Talmud.¹⁸ J.S. Bergsma rightly finds it untenable that Fishbane characterizes Daniel's prayer as seeking for the divine illumination on the meaning of

¹³ Robert P. Carroll, "Ancient Israelite Prophecy and Dissonance Theory," *Numen* 24/2 (1977):146-148.

¹⁴ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 482.

¹⁵ Ibid., 510. Similarly, Seow, *Daniel*, 139.

¹⁶ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 484-485.

¹⁷ Ibid, 459 (emphasis original).

¹⁸ James Kugel, "The Bible's Earliest Interpreters," *Prooftexts* 7/3 (1987): 269-283 (esp. 275-277). Similarly, John Van Seters, *The Edited Bible: The Curious History of the "Editor" in Biblical Criticism* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 376-391 (esp. 386).

Jeremiah's oracle.¹⁹ Fishbane erroneously claims that the Hebrew “בִּינְתִי” should be taken as “I (Daniel) searched” (Dan 9:2).²⁰ As a matter of fact, however, the text itself clarifies that Daniel “understood” (בִּינְתִי) the Jeremiah oracle from the scriptures. Unlike Fishbane, Bergsma concludes that in his prayer Daniel does not desire to know the meaning of Jeremiah's prediction of the recovery of the desolate Jerusalem. Quite contrary to it, Daniel requests the fulfillment of Jeremiah's prediction, convinced that he understood its meaning. Similarly, M. Henze goes on to press in sharper terms a question about Fishbane's method. On one level, Henze agrees that the interpreting angel helps Daniel grasp the Jeremiah oracle to solve what Fishbane calls cognitive dissonance. On the other level, however, Henze disputes Fishbane by arguing that “what is obscure, dissonant, and in urgent need of interpretation are not the words of the prophets but the content of Daniel's visions ... what prompted the author of Daniel to make such extensive use of the prophetic texts was not their dissonance but—quite to the contrary!—their consonance with the situation at hand.”²¹

In addition to the substantial critical responses, the Fishbane volume inspired some alternative approaches to inner-biblical interpretation. Instead of accepting Fishbane's concept of “mantological exegesis,” for example, M. Willis proposes that Daniel takes on the form of “mantic historiography” to resolve cognitive dissonance.²² This means that in terms of method Willis embraces a different starting point than Fishbane. Like Henze, Willis appears to be critical

¹⁹ John S. Bergsma, “The Persian Period as Penitential Era: The ‘Exegetical Logic’ of Daniel 9.1-27,” in *Exile and Restoration Revisited: Essays on the Babylonian and Persian Periods in Memory of Peter R. Ackroyd* (ed. Gary N. Knoppers; LSTS 73; London: T & T Clark, 2009), 50-64 (esp. 51-53).

²⁰ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 487-488.

²¹ Matthias Henze, “Daniel and Jubilees,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2009), 61-62.

²² Amy C. Merrill Willis, *Dissonance and the Drama of Divine Sovereignty in the Book of Daniel* (New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 26-35 (here, p. 29).

of Fishbane's point that dissonance is central to Daniel 9. While Fishbane adopts the theory of cognitive dissonance, Willis underscores the process of narrativizing history in Daniel.²³ In achieving consonance, what plays a central role in Daniel lies not in exegesis but rather in, according to Willis, "emplotment" and "configuration."²⁴ Based largely on G.H. Wilson's interpretation of Daniel 9 with a focus on the viewpoint of the narrator,²⁵ Willis proceeds to suggest that, addressing profound divine absence within the reading community, Daniel 9 "does not attest to a profound dissonance concerning that absence."²⁶

B. Isaiah in Daniel

The theory of cognitive dissonance has also been instrumental in probing the inner-biblical relationship between Daniel and Isaiah. Similarly to, yet independently of, Fishbane, W.S. Towner argues that the author of Daniel draws on the older oracles to adapt them to harsh reality. Agreeing with P. Hanson, that Jewish visionaries were "[f]aced with the evident disconfirmation of the glorious promises of Deutero-Isaiah" (Isa 49:8-13; 22-26; 55:12-13), Towner claims that the Festinger and Carroll theory helps understand Daniel and the apocalyptic texts as "paradigms for the way in which God and God's people can deal with the issues of the future."²⁷ During the time traditional Jewish religious system was threatened by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, for example,

²³ Willis' conceptualization of "emplotment" and "consonance" depends on some previous works: Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 3-31; Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Fiction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 1:1-87; Hayden White, "The Metaphysics of Narrativity: Time and Symbol in Ricoeur's Philosophy of History," in *On Paul Ricoeur: Narrative and Interpretation* (ed. D. Wood; New York: Routledge, 1991), 140-159; idem, "The Narrativization of Real Events," *CI* 7/4 (1981):793-798; and, Carol Newsom, "Rhyme and Reason: The Historical Résumé in Israelite and Early Jewish Thought," in *Congress Volume Leiden 2004* (ed. A. Lemaire; Boston: Brill, 2006), 215-233.

²⁴ Willis, *Dissonance and the Drama of Divine Sovereignty*, 30.

²⁵ Gerald H. Wilson, "The Prayer of Daniel 9: Reflection on Jeremiah 29," *JSOT* 48 (1990):91-99.

²⁶ Willis, *Dissonance and the Drama of Divine Sovereignty*, 135-137 (here, p. 137).

²⁷ W. Sibley Towner, "The Preacher in the Lion's Den," *Interpretation* 39/2 (1985):164, 166.

“the fundamental inner biblical hermeneutic” was a “response to the failure of prophetic expectations to materialize.”²⁸ This cognitive dissonance as an exegetical impulse is at work in Dan 7:14 and 12:1-3, which are, according to Towner, to be construed not as maps of future history but as affirmations about the meaning of that history.²⁹ This means that the eschatological expectation in Daniel is suggestive of the meaning of the present reality rather than of the actual future. Although there has been a strong tendency to view the inner-biblical interpretation in Daniel as controlled by the authors’ sense of a cognitive dissonance, one may justifiably ask whether the text of Daniel endorses the claim that the transmitted prophetic passages became senseless or doubtful. For example, when Daniel says that he “understood” the number of the devastation of Jerusalem in the book of Jeremiah, Daniel felt nothing incongruous about Jeremiah’s oracle (Dan 9:2). Thus Henze avers that what inspired the authors of Daniel to make ample use of the prophetic texts was “the consonance they found between the prophetic proclamation and their own situation.”³⁰

Let me bring my attention away from the issue regarding the socio-psychological approach to the research on the numerous verbal agreements between Isaiah and the second half of Daniel (Daniel 7-12). The author of the visionary experience of Daniel 7 seems to have committed himself to “a controlled reflection” upon Isaiah’s call vision.³¹ Thus the vision of one

²⁸ Ibid., 165.

²⁹ Ibid., 168.

³⁰ Henze, “The Use of Scripture in the Book of Daniel,” 301.

³¹ George G. Nicol, “Isaiah’s Vision and the Visions of Daniel,” *VT* 29/4 (1979):501-505 (here, 504). Similarly, Michael Fishbane, “From Scribalism to Rabbinitism: Perspectives on the Emergence of Classical Judaism,” in *The Garments of Torah: Essays in Biblical Hermeneutics* (ed. idem; Bloomington: Indian University, 1989), 68-69; Seow, *Daniel*, 157; and, Henze, “The Use of Scripture in the Book of Daniel,” 292-294.

like a son of man serves as an “exegesis” of the prophetic vision of the throne-room in Isaiah 6.³² This celestial throne-room that both Daniel 7 and Isaiah 6 envision in common constitutes the type-scene, in which “its visual scenery description pictures the high god being at the center of the council, surrounded by its members.”³³ The envisioning of the man-like figure as the divinely-ordained king in Daniel 7 activates the prophetic theme of the coming of Davidic son in Isa 9:1-7.³⁴ More specifically, Ronald E. Clements focuses on the enigmatic expressions of the divinely-decreed judgment on the world in Isa 10:23; 28:22 and Dan 9:27, arguing that the angel Gabriel endows the Isaiah prophecy with time and circumstance.³⁵ This historical setting that Daniel 9 addresses in apocalyptic terms is further revealed in Daniel 11 as involved directly with Antiochus IV. It is interesting here that the author of Dan 11:36 recycles the Isaianic phraseology for the Assyrian destruction of Israel to express “the abominable acts of the Syrian king.”³⁶ As A. Teeter nicely puts, Daniel’s exegetical identification of Isaiah’s Assyria and Hellenistic Syria can be taken as “the interpretive decoding of a prophetic enigma or mystery.”³⁷

³² Wolfgang Bittner, “Gott-Menschensohn-Davidssohn: Eine Untersuchung zur Traditionsgechichte von Daniel 7,13f,” *FZPT* 32/3 (1985): 352. Analogously, Nicol, “Isaiah’s Vision and the Visions of Daniel,” 503.

³³ Min Suc Kee, “The Heavenly Council and its Type-Scene,” *JSOT* 31/3 (2007): 263.

³⁴ Bittner, “Gott-Menschensohn-Davidssohn,” 356-361. Bittner rightly points out that both the Lord’s servant in Isaiah 42:1-3 and the one like a human being in Daniel 7 are the divine agent who brings divine “justice” (טִפְפִּי) to the world (p. 355).

³⁵ Ronald E. Clements, “The Interpretation of prophecy and the Origin of Apocalyptic,” *BQ* 33 (1989):32.

³⁶ Henze, “The Use of Scripture in the Book of Daniel,” 295, echoing H. Louis Ginsberg, “The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant,” *VT* 3/4 (1953), 403 (“Seleucid Syria was clearly the Assyria of which Israel had said [Isa xiv 24]).” Similarly, Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts*, 72, argues that the “career of Antiochus IV” in Dan 11:40-12:3 draws features from the “Isaiah’s description of the Assyrian invasion (Isa 8:7f; 10:5ff; 31:8f).” See also, idem, “The Earliest Old Testament Interpretation,” in *The Witness of Tradition: Papers Read at the Joint British-Dutch Old Testament Conference Held at Woudschoten, 1970* (OTS 17; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), 42.

³⁷ Andrew Teeter, “Isaiah and the King of As/Syria in Daniel’s Final Vision: On the Rhetoric of Inner-Scriptural Allusion and the Hermeneutics of ‘Mantological Exegesis,’” in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam Vol I* (JSJSup 153; ed. Eric F. Mason et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 191. Teeter’s work continues in many points Lester, “Daniel Evokes Isaiah,” 94-140.

The resonance between Second Isaiah and Daniel has been a prominent subject of scholarly discussion. Osten-Sacken accentuates Second Isaiah's vigorous polemics against the post-exilic Jews' growing skepticism of the congruence between prophetic promise and its realization.³⁸ He suggests that Daniel 2 continues Deutero-Isaiah's affirmation of the sovereignty of Israel's God over foreign nations.³⁹ Especially, the prophetic topos of the Day of the Lord finds its full development in Daniel 8-12 where the apocalyptic idea of time gains prominence.⁴⁰ Taking his cue from Osten-Sacken, J.G. Gammie further reinforces the Isaianic legacy in Daniel. As Gammie claims, the linguistic and thematic dependency of Daniel on Deutero-Isaiah is attested in all stories of Daniel 1-4.⁴¹ He develops Osten-Sacken's thesis but goes on to point out that "the prophetic ideas in Daniel have been filtered, at least in part, through a priestly prism"—a point that Osten-Sacken missed.⁴²

Indeed, the interpretive representation of Second Isaiah in the first half of Daniel has been in many ways explored. Bentzen mentions that the legend of Daniel's three companions in Daniel 3 embodies the prophetic sentence in Isa 43:2.⁴³ By the same token, the antagonism to statue-worship in Daniel 3 dramatizes Second Isaiah's political critique of Babylon's idols that

³⁸ Peter von der Osten-Sacken, *Die Apokalyptik in ihrem Verhältnis zu Prophetie und Weisheit* (TEH 157; München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1969), 15-18.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 23-34.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 39-40.

⁴¹ John G. Gammie, "On the Intention and Source of Daniel I-VI," *VT* 31/3 (1981): 285-287, provides examples: Isa 40:17a || Dan 4:33; Isa 40:6a || Dan 4:28; Isa 44:12-20 || Daniel 3; Isa 46:17 || Dan 2:46 and 3:5, 10; Isa 48:3 (55:1-11) || Daniel 2, 4, and 5; and, Isa 54:25-26 || Daniel 2,4, and 5.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 292.

⁴³ Bentzen, *Daniel*, 39, holds that "the legend" in Daniel 3 illustrates Isa 43:2 and Pss 66:12. But Bentzen's observation is insufficient to prove exegetical purpose of the author of Daniel 3 (Gammie, "On the Intention and Source of Daniel I-VI," 286).

symbolize the futility of the entire structure and system of the Babylonian Empire.⁴⁴ Daniel's tendency to witness the fulfillment of Second Isaiah's prophecy finds clear expression in abundant affinities between Daniel 2 and Second Isaiah.⁴⁵ The view of the Babylonian imperial politics as a fatal threat to the loyalty of Israel to her God is articulated in the first chapter of Daniel. As a midrashic commentary on the poem in Isa 51:1-3, the narrative in Daniel 1 urges the Israelites in exile to resist "every form of Babylonian nourishment which denies every Jewish possibility of life."⁴⁶ This image of Nebuchadnezzar as emulating the God of Israel is reinforced by the monarch's another image in Daniel 4. There the characterization of Nebuchadnezzar as defying the divine sovereignty corresponds to the arrogant monarch's claim to imperial autonomy in Isaiah 47.⁴⁷

Special attention needs to be paid to the fact that Daniel's envisioning the *maskilim* has been proven to draw a direct line of thematic continuity from Second Isaiah's portraiture of the Suffering Servant. Based on the verbal connections that both Dan 9:1-12:10 and Isa 52:13-53:12 establish, H.L. Ginsberg postulates that the author of Daniel identified the Isaianic Servant with the *maskilim* who taught the faithful Jews under the persecution by Antiochus IV.⁴⁸ Isaiah's impact on Daniel is reinforced as it is observed that the Suffering Servant plays a model for the

⁴⁴ John D. Watts, "Babylonian Idolatry in the Prophets as a False Socio-Economic System," in *Israel's Apostasy and Restoration: Essays in Honor of Roland K. Harrison* (ed. Avraham Gileadi; Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1988), 116-122 (esp. 120-121).

⁴⁵ See Towner, *Daniel*, 26-27; Ida Fröhlich, "Daniel 2 and Deutero-Isaiah," in *The Book of Daniel: In the Light of New Findings* (ed. A. S. van der Woude; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 266-270; Seow, "From Mountain to Mountain," 355-374; and, Lester, "Daniel Evokes Isaiah," 93-238.

⁴⁶ Walter Brueggemann, "A Poem of Summons (Is 55:1-3): A Narrative Resistance (Dan 1:1-21)," in *Schöpfung und Befreiung: für Claus Westermann zum 80 Geburtstag* (ed. Rainer Albertz et al.; Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1989), 126-136 (here, 128).

⁴⁷ Walter Brueggemann, "The Non-negotiable Price of Sanity," *JP* 28/1 (2004):28-36 (esp. 30-35).

⁴⁸ Ginsberg, "The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant," 400-404. See also John Day, "DA 'AT 'Humiliation' in Isaiah LIII 11 in the Light of Isaiah LIII 3 and Daniel XII 4, and the Oldest Interpretation Known Interpretation of the Suffering Servant," *VT* 30/1 (1980): 100-101; Collins, *Daniel* (1984), 100; and, Henze, "The Use of Scripture in the Book of Daniel," 298.

self-sacrificial *maskilim*'s nonviolent resistance against the Seleucid tyrant. Isaiah's Servant "did no violence" and his knowledge is instrumental in making the "many righteous" (Isa 53:10, 11). Just so, the *maskilim* impart their "verbal and written instruction" to do the same ministry for the faithful Jews (Dan 11:33).⁴⁹ The eschatological glorification of the *maskilim* in Dan 12:2 harks back in many ways to the portrayal of the Servant in Isa 52:9-13.⁵⁰ In recognizing the bond between Isaiah's Servant and Daniel's *maskilim*, however, one important question remains: why has the Servant, as an individual in Isaiah, been interpreted to be the *maskilim* as a group of wise teachers in Daniel?⁵¹ Considering that "my servants, my chosen ones" in Third Isaiah pluralizes the servant in Second Isaiah (Isa 56:6; 63:17; 65:15; 66:14), Nickelsburg sees that Third Isaiah enabled the author of Daniel to identify the righteous teachers with the servant.⁵²

Nickelsburg takes his view of the *maskilim* one step further by suggesting that Daniel went beyond Isaiah by speaking of "a twofold resurrection" in Dan 12:2, where some awake to eternal life and some to everlasting contempt.⁵³ Both the Danielic language of the resurrection

⁴⁹ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse against Empire*, 274-276. For the teaching as the *maskilim*'s enlightening act, see F.F. Bruce, "The Book of Daniel and the Qumran Community," in *Neotestamentica et Semitica: Studies in Honour of Matthew Black* (ed. E. Earle Ellis and Max Wilcox; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1969), 228 n.17; and, R. N. Whybray, *Thanksgiving for a Liberated Prophet: An Interpretation of Isaiah Chapter 53* (JSOTSup 4; Sheffield: University of Sheffield Press, 1978), 68-70.

⁵⁰ Martin Hengel, "The Effective History of Isaiah 53 in the Pre-Christian Period," in *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources* (ed. Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher; trans. Daniel P. Bailey; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2004), 96-98.

⁵¹ Adam S. van der Woude, "Prophetic Prediction, Political Prognostication, and Firm Belief: Reflection on Daniel 11:40-12:3," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. Craig A. Evans et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 63-73, rejects the Ginsberg thesis, while stressing the discrepancy in number between the Isaianic servant and the Danielic *maskilim* (esp. pp. 71-72). Jon D. Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel: The Ultimate Victory of the God of Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 188, perceives the discrepancy but leaves it unanswered.

⁵² George W.E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity* (HTS 56; exp. ed.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 39-40.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 33.

and its implication of divine justice stem from Isaiah 26.⁵⁴ Undergoing the crisis precipitated by Antiochus IV, the Hasidic Jews chose to die to obey the Torah, while the Hellenizing Jews prospered despite their transgression of the Torah. At the time of tribulation that posed a theological problem of the standard Israelite canons of justice and retribution, the Hasidic community found an answer in Isaiah 26.⁵⁵ Moreover, linguistic commonalities, including the term “abhorrence” (יִרְאָה) that is shared only between Isa 66:24 and Dan 12:2 in the Hebrew Bible, well demonstrate that the Hasidic Jews at the time of the Antiochene persecution read Third Isaiah to portray and understand their tumultuous period.⁵⁶ The statement about the two post-mortem fates of the righteous and the wicked in Dan 12:2 marks the latest and most full-blown phase of the complex process in which the idea of resurrection developed in the Hebrew Bible. L.J. Greenspoon rejects the possibility of non-Israelite (Mesopotamian, Canaanite, and Persian) religions’ influence, while claiming instead that the concept of resurrection retains its deeper root in the longstanding dominant theme of Israel’s history, namely, YHWH as Divine Warrior.⁵⁷ From the same viewpoint of history of religion, Day attempts to explain Daniel 12. The Canaanite Baal myth is “demythologized” in the OT prophetic passages that address Israel’s

⁵⁴ Horst Dietrich Preuß, “‘Auferstehung’ in Texten alttestamentlicher Apokalyptik (Jes 26, 7-19; Dan 12, 1-4),” in *Linguistische Theologie: Bibliche Texte, christliche Verkündigung und theologische Sprachtheorie* (ed. Uwe Gerber und Erhardt Güttgemanns; Bonn: Linguistica Biblica, 1972), 131-132, suggests that there is a “chronological path between Isaiah 26 and Daniel 12,” a path moving away from the much fractured text in Isaiah to the smoother text in Daniel. For a variety of connections between both texts, see John F.A. Sawyer, “‘My Secret is with Me’ (Isaiah 24,16): Some Semantic Links between Isaiah 24-27 and Daniel,” in *Understanding Poets and Prophets: Essays in Honour of George Wishart Anderson* (JSOTSup 152; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 307-317 (esp. 313-315).

⁵⁵ Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life*, 32. Similarly, Thomas Römer, “La mort et les morts dans le Proche-Orient ancien et dans la Bible hébraïque,” *ETR* 80/3 (2005):356-357.

⁵⁶ Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life*, 34. Similarly, Robert Martin-Achard, “L'espérance des croyants d'Israël face à la mort selon Esaïe 65,16c-25 et selon Daniel 12,1-4,” *RHPR* 59/3-4 (1979): 449, states: “le livre d'Esaïe semble avoir été particulièrement médité par la communauté assidéenne” (the book of Isaiah seems to have been particularly pondered by the Hasidim community).

⁵⁷ Leonard J. Greenspoon, “The Origin of the Idea of Resurrection,” in *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith* (ed. Baruch Halpern et al.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1981), 247-321 (esp. 257-281).

national restoration after exile through the resurrection imagery (e.g., Hosea 5:15-6:3, Ezek 37:11-14, Isaiah 24-27). By contrast, the myth is “remythologized” as Daniel 12 recycles the resurrection imagery in such a way as to mean literal revival after death.⁵⁸

The most recent and full-fledged investigation of Isaiah’s impact on Daniel is wrought by G. B. Lester. Defining Daniel as “apocalyptic allusion-narrative,” Lester builds his method mainly on works both by literary critics (e.g., Ziva Ben-Porat, Gian Biagio Conte) and by biblical exegetes (e.g., Richard Hays, Benjamin D. Sommer).⁵⁹ In delving into the textual web between Daniel and Isaiah, he rightly points out the need to distinguish allusion from other “complementary devices” such as exegesis/midrash, influence, echo, and intertextuality.⁶⁰ Lester seeks to unveil “allusive tropes” and advances his view that Daniel uses scriptural texts to yield a “theological narrative of the rule of foreign nations over the people of Israel.”⁶¹ Daniel 7, 8, 9, and 11 characterize Antiochus IV by allusions to Isaiah’s theological treatment of Assyria: Isa 8:7-8; 10: 12, 22-25; 14:12-15, 25; 28:22; 37:7, 23.⁶² Lester follows previous scholarship, in viewing, together with J.J. Collins, the son of man figure in Daniel 7 as the angel Michael.⁶³ He affirms the Ginsberg thesis that the *maskilim* are interpreted in Daniel to be the Isaianic Servant

⁵⁸ John Day, “Resurrection Imagery from Baal to the Book of Daniel,” in *Congress Volume: Cambridge 1995* (VTSup 66; ed. John A. Emerton; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 132-133; idem, “The Development of Belief in Life after Death in Ancient Israel,” in *After the Exile: Essays in Honor of Rex Mason* (ed. John Barton and David J. Reimer; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1996), 245-247. Unlike Day who appeals to the Canaanite myth to dispute the view that the Danielic idea of resurrection derived from the Zoroastrians, Römer, “La mort et les morts dans le Proche-Orient ancien,” 357-358, recognizes the influence both of the Persian religion and of the Canaanite Baal myth.

⁵⁹ Lester, “Daniel Evokes Isaiah,” 5-15, 232.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 55.

⁶¹ Ibid., 92. In this regard, Lester’s point is in tandem with a more comprehensive work by Willis, *Dissonance and the Drama of Divine Sovereignty in the Book of Daniel* (2010).

⁶² Lester, “Daniel Evokes Isaiah,” 94-140. See also, Teeter, “Isaiah and the King of As/Syria in Daniel’s Final Vision,” 171-169.

⁶³ Ibid., 74

of YHWH (Isa 52:13; 53:11), reaching his conclusion that, “to the ancient reader,” both Isaianic Servant and the Danielic *maskilim* meant “the people Israel.”⁶⁴

C. Ezekiel in Daniel

Ezekiel reflects a decisive period when the Babylonian Empire destroyed Jerusalem and exiled the sixth century B.C.E. Jews. At the time Prophet Ezekiel plays a visionary. He sees “great visions reminiscent of the heavenly journeys and travels of the later apocalypses.”⁶⁵ The spirit of God “transports Ezekiel up and down the Fertile Crescent and backward and forward in time,” allowing him both to witness corruption of God’s people and to have visionary experience of God’s plan for the restoration of them.⁶⁶ No biblical prophets equal Ezekiel in power of vision and vivid imagery. He is the first prophet who depicts in detail extramundane beings. Ezekiel’s heavenly journey, guided by the divine spirit, establishes “a pattern for apocalyptic tours.”⁶⁷ Ezekiel had recorded his prophetic acts and visionary experiences well before later Jewish authors composed their apocalyptic documents such as Joel, Zechariah, and Daniel.⁶⁸ As W. Zimmerli suggests, it is highly likely that the author(s) of Daniel had the text of Ezekiel as they composed the latter half of the book.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Ibid., 140-151. Yet, curiously, Lester sees in Dan 11:35 that the *maskilim* fall “so that they might be ‘refined, purged and cleansed’” (p. 146), claiming that they die for their own spiritual growing.

⁶⁵ Otto Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction, including the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and also the Works of Similar Type from Qumran. The History of the Formation of the Old Testament* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1965), 381.

⁶⁶ Stephen L. Cook, *The Apocalyptic Literature* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2003), 94.

⁶⁷ Yehezkel Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel: From its Beginning to the Babylonian Exile* (trans. Moshe Greenberg; Chicago: The Chicago University Press, 1960), 437.

⁶⁸ David Syme Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (London: SCM Press LTD, 1965), 115-116.

⁶⁹ Walter Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel Chapters 1-24* (trans. R.E. Clements; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 110, states that “For the chronological order ...

There has long been a scholarly consensus that the Book of Ezekiel served as an important source of Daniel. In particular, the notion that Ezekiel contains elements of nascent apocalypticism has been strongly supported in German scholarship. In his introduction to the Old Testament, J.G. Eichhorn examines the generic features of Ezekiel, displaying Ezekiel's kinship to Daniel and the Apocalypse of John as well.⁷⁰ Later, B. Duhm proceeds to regard Ezekiel as the first exponent of sacred divination and hence the founder of Jewish apocalyptic.⁷¹ Similarly, L. Dürr unhesitatingly includes Ezekiel in apocalyptic type. He begins his study of Ezekiel by discussing the development of Jewish apocalyptic from the perspective of the history of religion of the Hebrew Bible.⁷² While defining the written genre of apocalyptic in terms of peculiarities of form and content,⁷³ he shows a close affinity between Ezekiel and Daniel. For example, Dürr claims that Ezekiel's idea of the New Jerusalem on a "mountain" bears an interesting likeness to Daniel's interpretation of the hewn stone from a "mountain" (Ezek 40:2; Dan 2:34,35, 45).⁷⁴ Both the prophet and the visionary meet commonly with an extraordinarily uncanny angel in awe

the editors who added 10:1, 9ff, 21 must have had before them ch.1 ... also the author of Daniel 10-12 must certainly have had the expanded text before him."

⁷⁰ Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, *Einleitung ins Alte Testament Bd. III* (1783; 4th ed. Bd. IV; Göttingen: C.E. Rosenbusch, 1824), 250-252. See also Johann Michael Schmidt, *Die jüdische Apokalyptik: die Geschichte ihrer Erforschung von den Anfängen bis zu den Textfunden von Qumran* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1976), 32.

⁷¹ Bernhard Duhm, *Israels Propheten* (2nd ed.; Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr, 1922), 234-235, states that "Unsers Wissens ist Hesekiel der erste Vertreter dieser heiligen Mantik gewesen, jedenfalls wurde er der erste erfolgreiche Schriftsteller dieser Art und damit der Vater der Apokalyptik." Similarly, André Feuillet, "Le Fils de l'homme de Daniel et la tradition biblique," *RB* 60 (1953):182, remarks that "Ézéchiël apparaît vraiment comme le père de l'apocalyptique."

⁷² Lorenz Dürr, *Die Stellung des Propheten Ezechiel in der israelitisch-jüdischen Apokalyptik: Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des Buches Ezechiel und zur israelitischen Religionsgeschichte* (Münster: Verlag der Aschendorff, 1923), 1-14.

⁷³ Ibid., 10: "Tatsächlich tritt uns in der Apokalyptik eine Schriftgattung mit besonderen formellen und materiellen Eigentümlichkeiten entgegen."

⁷⁴ Ibid, 109. Similarly, Wellhausen finds a model of apocalypse in Ezekiel's portraiture of the rebuilt Jerusalem (Ezekiel 40-48). Julius Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (6 Auf.; Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1907), 153: "Seine Schilderung des Neuen Jerusalem hat den apokalypsen als Vorbild gedient."

of the heavenly beings (Ezek 40:3; Dan 10:5-7).⁷⁵ Ezekiel's eschatological use of the phrase "in the last days" (בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים) finds "the same meaning of the term" when Daniel implies "the time of redemption from the tyranny of Antiochus," namely, the time of "the dawn of the future kingdom" (Ezek 38:16; Dan 10:14).⁷⁶ Echoing Dürr's argument about the Ezekiel/Daniel phrase "in the later days," Osten-Sacken points out that the phrase "the Day of the Lord" is a link between Ezek 38:18 and Dan 12:1, and that the eschatological expression "The end has come" is shared between Ezek 7:2, 3, 6a and Dan 9:26b, 27c.⁷⁷

Despite the close kinship between Ezekiel and Daniel, the relationship between Ezekiel and Jewish apocalypticism has turned out to be even more complicated than the group of German scholars claimed. As Kaufmann rightly states, the book of Ezekiel should be properly counted not so much as early apocalypse but as typical prophecy: "Ezekiel originates some elements characteristic of apocalyptic ... Yet Ezekiel cannot be said to have founded apocalypse. He lacks the essential feature, mantic research. Ezekiel does not reveal the secrets of heaven. The divine chariot of his vision is on earth, not in heaven; the vision is not an end in itself, but serves only as a framework for the revelation of a divine message."⁷⁸ Collins too asserts that postexilic prophecies such as Ezekiel lack the "generic framework of apocalyptic thought"⁷⁹ and hence cannot be categorized as apocalyptic. In a similar vein, perceiving the difficulty in conceptualizing apocalypticism, M. Haran states that some scholars' tendency to define Ezekiel as the founder of apocalypticism results from their lack of understanding of the complexity of the

⁷⁵ Dürr, *Die Stellung des Propheten Ezechiel*, 48.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 100-101, agreeing with W. Staerk, "Der Gebrauch der Wendung בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים im at. Kanon," ZAW 11/1 (1891): 247-253 (here, p. 252). See also, Horst Seebass, "אָחֵר," TDOT 1:211-212; and, John T. Willis, "The Expression *be' acharith hayyamin* in the Old Testament," RQ 22/1-2 (1979): 68.

⁷⁷ Osten-Sacken, *Die Apokalyptik in ihrem Verhältnis zu Prophetie und Weisheit*, 43-44.

⁷⁸ Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel*, 437.

⁷⁹ Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 24.

genre.⁸⁰ In doing so, Haran lays stress on the discrepancy in social environs between Ezekiel and apocalyptic. The reason Ezekiel cannot be deemed apocalyptic is, avers Haran, “precisely because his writing was preceded by live contact with the exiles, whereas the clear-cut apocalypses, concealing themselves as they did behind a pseudepigraphic veil, are merely works of writing.”⁸¹ In keeping with the view that Ezekiel is not apocalyptic, L. Hartman seems to be skeptical even of Ezekiel’s influence on Daniel. He emphasizes that both Daniel and some quasi-apocalyptic texts of Ezekiel such as chapters 38-39 share a pattern of thought. The apocalypse in Dan 7:23-27 and the Gog narrative in Ezek 38-39 belong to the same structural pattern typical of divine intervention without a messianic figure: a. Evil times; b. God intervenes, rises up, comes, etc.; c. God judges; d. The sinners are punished; and, e. The righteous rejoice.⁸²

How then do we deal properly with intertextuality between Ezekiel and Daniel? It should be recognized that the generic difference between Ezekiel and Daniel does not deter us from seeing that Daniel appropriates linguistically and ideologically Ezekiel. Admittedly, Jewish apocalypticism blends various streams of the scriptural tradition of the Hebrew Bible. The author(s) of Daniel could find a source of inspiration in Prophet Ezekiel’s acts and messages. The visionary materials in Ezekiel particularly function as a fertile ground for Daniel’s apocalyptic messages. It should be pointed out, in a similar vein, that Daniel’s appropriation of Ezekiel may well accord with a tendency to interpret Ezekiel apocalyptically in Second Temple Judaism. For example, other post-exilic prophets such as Haggai and Zechariah “seized upon the

⁸⁰ Menahem Haran, “Observation on Ezekiel as a Book Prophet,” in *Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. Ronald L. Troxel et al.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 18.

⁸¹ Ibid., 19. But Haran’s view of apocalypse as pure scribalism is restrained. Daniel says that only after he saw his dream vision did he write it down (Dan 7:1).

⁸² Lars Hartman, *Prophecy Interpreted: The Formation of Some Jewish Apocalyptic Texts and of the Eschatological Discourse Mark 13 par* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1966), 55-59 (here, p. 55).

apocalyptic eschatology in Ezekiel's restoration program and transformed it into an apocalyptic symbolic universe (Hag 2:6-9; Zech 1-6).⁸³ Likewise, the ancient Jewish writer of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* rewrote Ezekiel from a distinctively apocalyptic and eschatological perspective.⁸⁴ The NT author of the Apocalypse of John too drew heavily upon Ezekiel with conscious intent.⁸⁵ The long-standing modern scholarly observation of and debate on the apocalyptic mood of Ezekiel's text may well undergird the presence of strong connection between Ezekiel's oracles and Daniel's visions. Indeed, scholars have paid close attention to significant contact points that demonstrate textual dependence of Daniel on Ezekiel.⁸⁶ Here one should recognize that Daniel's

⁸³ Paul Hanson, "Apocalypticism," in *IDBSup*: 32.

⁸⁴ On this tendency, see Devorah Dimant, "The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Ezekiel at Qumran," in *Messiah and Christos: Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity: Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (ed. I. Gruenwald et al.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 31-51; and, Florentino García Martínez, "The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honor of Johan Lust* (BETL 192; ed. idem and M. Vervenne; Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 163-176. For a possible, more complex, interaction between Ezekiel and Pseudo-Ezekiel, see Mladen Popović, "Prophet, Books and Texts: Ezekiel, Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Authoritativeness of Ezekiel Traditions in Early Judaism," in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. idem; JSJSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 227-251 (esp. 242-247). The six copies of fragmented Hebrew compositions were first named *Second Ezekiel* but later renamed as *Pseudo-Ezekiel*. For the *editio princeps*, see Devorah Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4. XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD XXX; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 17-90.

⁸⁵ Of all the allusions in Revelation, Ezekiel ranks as the most frequent OT book, second only to Daniel. On the use of Ezekiel in Revelation, see Gregory K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1984). Jean-Pierre Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse: The Transformation of Prophetic Language in Revelation 16.17-19.10* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989). Recently, Richard Bauckham, "A Quotation from 4QSecond Ezekiel in the Apocalypse of Peter," *RevQ* 15/59 (1992):437-445, suggests that the author of *Apoc. Pet.* 17.4 incorporates part of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* into his composition. Bauckham's view remains controversial. See Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4*, 14-15.

⁸⁶ For the use of Ezekiel 19 and 31 in Daniel 4, see Martin Metzger, "Zeder, Weinstock und Weltenbaum," in *Ernten, was man sät: Festschrift für Klaus Koch zu seinem 65 Geburtstag* (ed. Dwight R. Daniels et al.; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag: 1991), 197-229; idem, "Der Weltenbaum in vorderorientalischer Bildtradition," in *Unsere Welt-Gottes Schöpfung: Eberhard Wölfel zum 65 Geburtstag am 16 April 1992* (ed. Wilfried Härle et al.; Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1992), 1-34. For the use of Ezekiel in the latter half of Daniel, see Robert R. Wilson, "From Prophecy to Apocalyptic: Reflections on the Shape of Israel Religion," *Semeia* 21 (1981): 92; Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1-24* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1997), 43, 109; Carrey C. Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology: Tradition and Rhetoric* (NovTSup 69; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 92-98; and, Henze, "The Use of Scripture in the Book of Daniel," 292-294.

use of Ezekiel does not need to corroborate Festinger-Carroll advocated hypothesis about the rise of Jewish apocalyptic.⁸⁷ Fishbane, for example, explains Ezekiel 29 and 38 as reinterpreting “unfulfilled or failed prophecies.”⁸⁸

As surveyed in terms of the use of prophets in Daniel, previous scholarship has focused on use of Jeremiah and Isaiah. Scholars have long tended to highlight that these two prophets inspired the author(s) to explain the perplexed exilic reality to the audiences/readers of Daniel. However, relatively little research has been carried out on the studies of impact of Ezekiel on Daniel. In this chapter I will explore the use of Ezekiel in Daniel. Particularly, I will focus on the manners in which the first three chapters in Ezekiel influenced the apocalyptic accounts in Daniel. Based on my investigation of the presence and function of allusions that work between Ezekiel 1-3 and Daniel 7, 10-12, I will proceed to provide a fresh theological perspective of some main protagonists in Daniel: the one like son of man (Daniel 7), the heavenly figure (Daniel 10), and the *maskilim* (Daniel 11-12). Particularly, I will suggest the one like a son of man in Daniel 7 as a prototype of the *maskilim* in Daniel 11-10. Analyzing motif of transformation central to the second half of the book, I will examine how allusion to Ezekiel contributes to the reader’s identifying both the son of man in Daniel 7 and the heavenly revealer in Daniel 10 as liminal figures that border two different entities.

⁸⁷ Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed*, 205. To justify unfulfilled prophecy, according to Carroll, Ezekiel adapts original oracles for what really happened (pp. 174-177), and develops Jeremiah’s motif of divine deception (pp. 196-198).

⁸⁸ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 476-477. In particular, Fishbane’s treatment of the Tyre prophecy (Ezekiel 29) reflects Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed*, 174-175. David Thompson, “A Problem of Unfulfilled Prophecy in Ezekiel: The Destruction of Tyre (Ezekiel 26:1-14 and 29:18-20),” *WTJ* 16/1 (1981): 93-106, rejects Carroll’s thesis but, curiously enough, sees Carroll’s hermeneutic model promising (pp. 101-102). Dean Ulrich, “Dissonant Prophecy in Ezekiel 26-29,” *BBR* 10/1 (2000):121-141, attempts to provide an alternative approach to the debate on the Tyre oracle.

II. Literary Allusions to Ezekiel 1-3 in Daniel 7

Throughout the history of interpretation of Daniel 7 enormous scholarly work has been done on the matter of source of Daniel's nocturnal vision.⁸⁹ A variety of suggestions about influence on Daniel's vision of God's heavenly hall have been made from the religio-historical and tradition-historical perspectives.⁹⁰ Among biblical sources stands prominently Ezekiel's throne-vision in Ezekiel 1 that provides a solid foundation for Daniel's visionary account in Daniel 7.⁹¹ I will confine my primary interest to examining the literary allusion to Ezekiel's vision in Daniel's vision. As C.C. Rowland well observes, the first chapter of Ezekiel provided a "quarry" for the

⁸⁹ For a good survey with select bibliographies, see Egger, *Influences and Traditions Underlying the Vision of Daniel 7:2-14* (2000).

⁹⁰ Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 280-294, stresses Canaanite influence. Egger, *Influences and Traditions*, 54-106, nicely introduces previous suggestions of Daniel's vision of throne-scene (Dan 7:9-14): Babylonian; Canaanite; Iranian; Indian; Astrological; Greek; Egyptian; Tyrian; Syro-Palestinian; Vision of the Netherworld; and the OT.

⁹¹ I found the following literature quite helpful: Otto Procksch, "Die Berufungsvision Hesekiels," in *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft Karl Budde zum siebzigsten Geburtstag am 13. April 1920 überreicht von Freunden und Schülern und in ihrem Namen herausgegeben* (BZAW 34; ed. Karl Marti; Gießen: Alfred Töppelmann, 1920), 141-149; idem, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1949), 416-417; John Bowman, "The Background of the Term 'Son of Man,'" *ET* 59/11 (1948): 284-285; Steinmann, *Daniel* (1950), 109; Feuillet, "Le Fils de l'homme de Daniel" (1953): 170-202 (esp. 180-185); Arnold B. Rhodes, "The Kingdoms of Men and the Kingdom of God: A Study of Daniel 7:1-14," *Interpretation* 15/4 (1961): 417, 421-423; Otto Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel* (KAT 18; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1965), 108-111, 174; Russell, *The Method and Message* (1965), 340-341; Horst Robert Balz, *Methodische Probleme der Neutestamentlichen Christologie* (WMANT 25; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967), 85-86; Matthias Delcor, "Les sources du chapitre VII de Daniel," *VT* 18/3 (1968): 302-304, 311; Harald Sahlin, "Antiochus IV Epiphanes und Judas Mackabäus: einige Gesichtspunkte zum Verständnis des Danielbuches," *ST* 23/1 (1969): 47-48; Matthew Black, "The Throne-Theophany Prophetic Commission and the 'Son of Man': A Study in Tradition-History," in *Jews, Greeks and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity. Essays in Honor of William David Davies* (ed. R. H. Kelly and R. Scroggs; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), 59-63; Christopher C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 95-97, 217-221; Seyoon Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (WUNT 2/4; Tübingen/Grand Rapids: J.C.B. Mohr/W.B. Eerdmans, 1981/1982), 205-209; 239-252; idem, "The 'Son of Man' as the Son of God" (WUNT 30; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1983), 16-17; Helge S. Kvanvig, "Henoch und der Menschensohn: das Verhältnis von Hen 14 und Dan 7:1," *ST* 38/2 (1984): 114-119; David J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (TSAJ 16; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1988), 74-78; Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology* (1992), 95-104; and, Andreas Vonach, "Der Hochbetagte und sein Umfeld: von prophetischen Theophanien zu christologischen Epiphanien," in *Im Geist und in der Wahrheit: Studien zum Johannesevangelium und zur Offenbarung des Johannes sowie andere Beiträge. Festschrift für Martin Hasitschka SJ zum 65 Geburtstag* (ed. Konrad Huber et al.; Münster: Aschendorff, 2008), 322-327.

composition of Daniel 7.⁹² I will demonstrate the extent to which Daniel's vision depends on Ezekiel's vision.

To analyze allusion in Daniel 7 to Ezekiel 1-3, I would like to begin by briefly surveying Daniel's nocturnal vision in Daniel 7. Daniel's vision is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the winds coming from four directions that stir up the great sea (Dan 7:2-8). With the sea-churning blast denoting a chaotic force that threatens the world, the seer witnesses that "four great beasts" arise successively from the sea (Dan 7:3). They represent the sequence of kings of imperial superpowers in history. These kings are envisaged as a miscellany of imaginative characteristics. Thus Daniel's portrayal of the four beasts is focused on their bizarre forms that have never once existed in the world. A predatory hybrid of lion and eagle is said to become a humanoid as it stands on two feet and gains a human mind (Dan 7:4). Another predator that resembles a bear is seen as holding three blooded ribs in its mouth and is commanded to further devour meat of another prey (Dan 7:5). Like the lion-eagle hybrid, the next empire looks a half-breed leopard that has four wings of a bird and, more grotesquely, four heads (Dan 7:6).

Then finally comes the fourth beast to which Daniel devotes the longest depiction. Daniel lays emphasis on the fourth's unparalleled quality of dread, terror, and ruthlessness. It differs from any previous beasts, embodying complete destruction: it devours with iron teeth, breaks in pieces, and tramples the remnant with its feet that have bronze claws (Dan 7:7, 19). This fourth beast has ten horns, and its eleventh "little horn" is in part anthropomorphic. It has eyes like human ones as well as a mouth speaking arrogantly (Dan 7:8). These horns are kings who arises out of the empire represented by the horrible fourth beast (Dan 7:23-24). Contemplating about the fourth beast's horns, Daniel "desires" to know the truth about the little horn (Dan 7:8, 19).

⁹² Christopher C. Rowland, "The Influence of the First Chapter of Ezekiel on Jewish and Early Christian Literature" (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1974), 92.

Probably, Daniel's special attention to the little horn is prompted by its battle with God and God's people. The little horn rails against God, harrying God's holy ones (7:25). It makes war with and prevails over the holy ones until they take over the empire at due time (Dan 7:21-22).

The second part of Daniel's eccentric and appalling vision delineates the manifestation of God in the celestial courtroom (Dan 7:9-14). Unlike the four kings shown to be monstrous "beasts," the divine sovereign is imaged as a human being termed "an Ancient One," whose raiment and hair are in the dazzling whiteness (Dan 7:3, 9). Daniel envisions God as the heavenly judge. With innumerable angelic entourage standing, God sits on God's chariot-throne that issues a river of fire (Dan 7:10). The "books were open," which implies the trial on the way, and the beasts are found either slain or impotent (Dan 7:11-12). The second part of Daniel's vision culminates with the advent of a majestic figure. Daniel sees the figure both coming like a son of man with the clouds of heaven and reaching to the Ancient One (Dan 7:13). Presumably the angelic entourage brings the figure to the presence of the enthroned deity, who then installs the figure as ruler of the divine empire by bestowing on him an everlasting dominion (Dan 7:13b-14). One of the angelic entourage interprets the majestic figure to represent the people of Israel, designating the figure as "the holy ones of the Most High" (קְדִישֵׁי עֲלִיוֹנִין; Dan 7:18, 22, 25) and "the people of the holy ones of the Most High" (עַם קְדִישֵׁי עֲלִיוֹנִין; Dan 7:27).

A. Daniel 7 as Interconnecting Text

Daniel 7 is in many ways central to the book of Daniel, while serving as an "interlocking device"⁹³ or "middle pivot."⁹⁴ In Daniel the Aramaic section (2:4b-7:28) comes to a closure with Daniel 7, after which resume the Hebrew sections (8:1-12:13). The first six chapters are mainly

⁹³ Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 30.

⁹⁴ Paul R. Raabe, "Daniel 7: Its Structure and role in the Book," *HAR* 9 (1985): 272-273.

stories *about* Daniel,⁹⁵ while the last six chapters primarily address visions *of* Daniel. Put another way, the first half of the book persistently reported in the third person is transitioned to Daniel's self-report in the latter half of the book.⁹⁶ In the narrative section, more interestingly, Daniel acts as interpreter of other's dream vision (Daniel 2 and 4) and God's inscription (Daniel 5), whereas, from chapter 7 on, the *interpretes par excellence* becomes the recipient of a series of apocalyptic visions himself. With this conversion of role, Daniel the visionary is no longer a perfect interpreter. For in understanding his vision, Daniel is repeatedly shown to be in urgent need of angelic interpreter's assistance (Dan 7:16; 8:16; 9:22; 10:14; 12:8).

That Daniel 7 yokes two halves of the book is further bolstered by exquisite parallels that we find between Daniel 7 and the first half. Examples are many. The sequence of four empires followed by the fifth and final empire of God is in common between Daniel 2 and Daniel 7.⁹⁷ The depiction of the first beast symbolic of the Babylonian empire is reminiscent of the bestial transfiguration of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon (Dan 7:4; 4:30).⁹⁸ The name of King Belshazzar too functions as a link, while situating Daniel's first vision in the first year of the king's reign (Dan 7:1; 5:1). Particularly, the fiery image of the divinity in Daniel 7 recalls the acts of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 3. The monarch brought Daniel's three companions "before him" (קִדְּם מֶלֶכָּא), and they "were thrown" (רָמְיוּ) into "blazing fire" (נוֹרָא יְקִדְּתָא) (Dan 3:13, 20-21). The linguistic elements of the depiction of Nebuchadnezzar as royal persecutor of God's people are carefully recycled to highlight God's eschatological vindication of them. Thus the

⁹⁵ Of the first six chapters, however, Dan 2:31-45; 4:7-14; 17-24 do deal with visions and the corresponding interpretations.

⁹⁶ Klaus Koch, *Das Buch Daniel* (EdF 144; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980), 55. Yet, the narrator's first person speech resurfaces in Dan 7:1-2a and 10:1.

⁹⁷ Pablo S. David, "The Composition and Structure of The Book of Daniel: A Synchronic and Diachronic Reading" (Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1991), 62-64; 123-141.

⁹⁸ Matthias Henze, "Daniel," in *The New Interpreter's Bible: One Volume Commentary* (ed. Beverly R. Gaventa and David Petersen; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2010), 487.

Ancient One's throne is "blazing fire" (נֹר דִּלֶּק) and a river of "fire" (נֹר) is flowing from before him (קִדְמוֹהִי) (Dan 7:9-10). The thrones "were thrown" (רָמְיוּ) for judgment, and at the long run, the fourth beast was killed and surrendered to the "fiery blaze" (יִקְדַּת אֵשָׁה) (Dan 7:9, 11). The reader's perception of the close affinity between King Nebuchadnezzar and the Ancient One leads to the awareness of great victory of God. The rebellious tyrant's fire is revealed as unable to destroy the three Jews loyal to God, whereas the Ancient One's fire consumes the fourth beast and its eleventh horn that is a king most rebellious against God.

These well-crafted analogies are further established through the correlations between Daniel 7 and in the following chapters in Daniel. Among others, Daniel 8 is remarkable. After the first vision that Daniel sees in the first year of King Belshazzar, another quite a similar vision appears to him in the third year of the same monarch (Dan 7:1; 8:1).⁹⁹ Daniel 8 "complements" Daniel 7, sharing "the same conceptual and symbolic world."¹⁰⁰ The representation of reality through the motif of battle among animal figures ties Daniel 7 and 8 together. The analogous symbolisms of the "little horn" (Dan 7:8; 8:9) as well as "holy ones" are remarkable (Dan 7:18, 21-22, 25; 8:24). Both chapters contain a relatively brief interpretation (Dan 7:17; 8:20-21) of the animal vision (Dan 7:2-7; 8:2-8).¹⁰¹

Noteworthy is also the thematic connection between Daniel 7 and Daniel 11-12.¹⁰² Both chapters share the idea of the God-determined period of Israel's distress. The anonymous angel's oracle regarding "a time, two times, and half a time" (מוֹעֵד מוֹעֲדִים וְחֵצִי) in Daniel 12

⁹⁹ Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 328.

¹⁰⁰ Collins, *Daniel* (1984), 87.

¹⁰¹ Porter, *Metaphors and Monsters*, 9.

¹⁰² David, "The Composition and Structure of The Book of Daniel," 198-206, demonstrates five significant contact points: i) The common time –frame (Dan 7:25; 12:7); ii) Michael and the "One like a Son of Man" (Dan 7:13; 12:1); iii) The vindication of the קְדִישֵׁי עֲלִיוֹן "saints of the Most High," הַמְּשַׁכְּלִים "wise ones" (Dan 7:18; 12:3); vi) Judgment, retribution, and the book/s (Dan 7:10; 12:1); and, v) Daniel's inquiry with an angel (Dan 7:15-16; 12:8).

constitutes a flashback to Daniel 7, where Daniel is told from an angel the same formula of Israel's suffering period: "a time, two times, and half a time" (עֵדֶן וְעֵדֶינִי וְכַלְגַּ עֵדֶן) (Dan 7:25; 12:7). An interesting shift occurs between contexts of the link. The figure in human form represents not an individual but rather a collective entity, that is, the "people of the holy ones of the Most High" (Dan 7:27). The idea that in the end of time God glorifies Israel the collective entity recurs with a modification in the scene of resurrection in Daniel 12. There the faithful people of Israel in Daniel 7 are divided into two distinguishable multitudes: "many" and "the *maskilim*" (Dan 11:33-35). God awakes "many" for everlasting life, and affords the eternal splendor to "the *maskilim*" (Dan 12:2-3). The internal allusion at work between the figure and the *maskilim* dovetails with the inter-literary allusion at work between Daniel and Ezekiel. In the section of maximal activation of allusion, I will deal in greater detail with this matter. Before turning back to the matter of *maskilim* in terms of allusion, I will demonstrate a variety of signs of allusion that correlates Daniel's vision and Ezekiel's vision.

B. Main Signs of Allusion

The author of Daniel 7 intends the main signs of allusion to work between the second part of Daniel's vision (Dan 7:9-14) and its source text in Ezekiel's vision (Ezek 1:26-2:1). In the opening of the book of Ezekiel, we hear that after the Babylonian armies capture Jerusalem in 597 B.C.E., King Jehoiachin and a group of the Judean population are deported to Babylonia (Ezek 1:1). There Ezekiel is allowed to glimpse the "*lumen substantiae*,"¹⁰³ which is the light

¹⁰³ Elliot R. Wolfson, *Through a Speculum that Shine: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 108. MT הַשֵּׁמֶל remains unclear. OG ἡλεκτρον (amber; pale gold), Vulg. *electrum* (an alloy of silver and gold). Possibly, the Hebrew has an Akkadian cognate, *elmēšu* (a brilliant precious stone). Although the exact meaning of the Hebrew remains unknown; it seems to be nevertheless unquestionable that the term serves to depict the brilliance of God's presence. The theophany itself is saturated with the image of shining light: the throne chariot is likened to

image of the “Glory of the Lord” (Ezek 1:4, 28). The Glory takes the form of humankind. It is this throne vision of the anthropomorphic theophany that is shared between Daniel’s nocturnal vision and Ezekiel’s inaugural vision of the enthroned God. To facilitate our comparison between Daniel’s vision (the alluding text) and Ezekiel’s vision (the evoked text), I provide the main signs of allusion in the chart below:

Chart VIII: Main Signs of Allusion

The Alluding Text	The Evoked Text
Dan 7:9-14	Ezek 1:26-2:1
v. 9 As I watched, thrones (כְּרִסְיֹן) were set in place, and an Ancient One (עֲתִיק יוֹמִין) sat, his clothing was white as snow, and the hair of his head (רֹאשׁוֹ) like pure wool; his throne (כְּרִסְיֹהּ) was fiery flames	1:26 And above the dome over their heads (רֹאשָׁם) there was (something) ... the likeness of a throne (כְּבֹרֶסֶיא/כְּסֵא), ¹⁰⁴ and upon the likeness of the throne (הַכְּסֵא) was the likeness like the appearance of a human being (אָדָם)
vv.13-14 behold, with clouds of (עֲנָנִי) heaven he was coming like a son of man (בְּבֶר אֱנוֹשׁ), and he reached even to the Ancient One (עֲתִיק יוֹמִין) ... And to him is given dominion and glory (יְקָר) and kingdom, so that all people, clans, and languages should serve (יִפְלְחוּן) him.	1:26b, 28; 2:1 like the appearance of a human being (כְּמֵרִיאָה אָדָם/אִנְשָׁא) ¹⁰⁵ ... like the bow that is in a “cloud” (עָנָן) on a rainy day ... the likeness of the glory (יְקָרָא/כְּבוֹד) ¹⁰⁶ of the Lord ... I saw and I fell on my face (אָפַל עַל־פָּנַי). And he said to me, “Son of man (בְּנֵי־אָדָם), stand up on your feet

Like the “Ancient One” Daniel sees, Ezekiel sees “the appearance of a human being” upon an astounding throne chariot (Ezek 1:26, Dan 7:9). In Daniel 7 there occurs an encounter between the enthroned God and the figure like a son of man (בְּרֵאֲנוֹשׁ) (Dan 7:13). In Ezekiel 1-3, the enthroned God meets with “Son of man” (בְּנֵי־אָדָם) that is a special appellation that God

“sapphire,” its wheels to “beryl,” the dome above the chariot to “crystal,” and a “radiance” surrounds the deity on the throne (Ezek 1:26, 16, 22, 27).

¹⁰⁴ Aram. כְּבֹרֶסֶיא (Tg. Ezek 1:26). For the text of Targum to Ezekiel, see Menachem Cohen, *Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer': Ezekiel* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 2000), 10.

¹⁰⁵ For Aramaic אִנְשָׁא, see Alexander Sperber, ed., *The Latter Prophets according to Targum Jonathan* (vol. 3 of *Bible in Aramaic, Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*; Leiden: Brill, 1962), 267, apparatus v.26.

¹⁰⁶ Cohen, *Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer'*, 10.

persistently applies to Ezekiel (Ezek 2:1; Dan 7:13).¹⁰⁷ What both Ezekiel and Daniel see in their visionary experience is commonly designated as “four beasts” (אַרְבַּע חַיּוֹת) Ezek 1:5; אַרְבַּע חַיּוֹן Dan 7:3).

In the Hebrew Bible there are a few texts that show God to be seated on the throne amid a heavenly host: 1 Kgs 22:19-22 (Micaiah predicts King Ahab’s death based on his vision of the heavenly council); Isa 6:1-8 (Isaiah is called and commissioned during his vision of God in the temple), and Ezek 1:1-3:15; 10:1-22 (Ezekiel experiences the theophany of God both in Babylon and in Jerusalem).¹⁰⁸ The throne-vision in Daniel 7 finds its closest analogy in the throne vision in Ezek 1:1-3:15. In Daniel 7 there is a group of directional markers that help the reader identify marked elements in Ezekiel’s introductory narrative: 1) between Dan 7:9 and Ezek 1:26; and, 2) between Dan 7:13-14 and Ezek 1:26, 28; 2:1. The signs of allusion at work between Dan 7:9 and Ezek 1:26 are unmistakable. The Aramaic marker “his throne” (בְּרִסְיָהּ) points back to its Hebrew marked “the throne” (הַכִּסֵּא). The Aramaic marker and the Hebrew marked occur in common twice (הַכִּסֵּא/בְּרִסְיָהּ; בְּרִסְיָהּ/בְּרִסְיוֹן).¹⁰⁹ These signals built on the lexical kinship are bolstered by an ideological continuity between Ezekiel’s vision and Daniel’s vision: both Ezekiel and Daniel perceive the enthroned God as the shape of an *anthropos*. Thus the form of God

¹⁰⁷ God continuously calls Ezekiel “Son of man,” which in the book occurs 93 times and is applied by God to the prophet 92 times. The view that the special appellation emphasizes Ezekiel’s mortality is misleading. Ezekiel names the Glory of YHWH as “Adam” (אָדָם) (Ezek 1:26). In response, the Glory names Ezekiel as “Son of Adam” (בֶּן-אָדָם) (Ezek 2:1). As unmistakable from the context of this dialogue between the Glory and Ezekiel, the Glory’s constant naming Ezekiel as “Son of Adam” suggests the Glory’s intimate *relationship* with Ezekiel. Given the Glory is Adam in Ezekiel’s call vision, when this Adam calls Ezekiel “Son of Adam,” the prophet is invested with the divine sonship, not mortality.

¹⁰⁸ On form- and tradition critical analysis of these texts, see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel I*, 98-100; and, Black, “The Throne-Theophany Prophetic Commission,” 57-61. Black argues the textual dependence of Daniel 7 on Ezekiel 1, and his point is taken up by Bittner, “Gott-Menschensohn-Davidsohn,” 346-349.

¹⁰⁹ The reader’s observation of these two features might well prompt the reader to see another possible point of contact between the Aramaic רִאשָׁה (his head) and the Hebrew רִאשָׁם (their heads). Although both have different referents (God’s head in Daniel and the beasts’ heads in Ezekiel), their linguistic affinity within approximate context sufficiently functions as a signal of allusion.

envisaged as “an Ancient One” (עֲתִיק יוֹמִין) on the throne is reminiscent of the Glory of YHWH appearing as “a human being” (אָדָם) on the throne (Dan 7:9; Ezek 1:26). And these two anthropomorphic forms of God are said to be seated on a throne “with wheels.”¹¹⁰

Moreover, the figure in human form in Daniel’s vision alludes to the human form of the enthroned God in Ezekiel’s vision (Dan 7:13-14; Ezek 1:26, 28; 2:1). Daniel reports that “with the clouds of heaven, like a son of man, he was coming” (עַם-עֲנָנֵי שָׁמַיָא כְּבָר אָנֹשׁ אֲתֵה הוּהָ). As in Daniel’s portrayal of the Ancient One, Daniel’s depiction of this unnamed figure shares linguistic and conceptual ties to Ezekiel’s depiction of God. This means that both the Ancient One and the figure stem in common from the God envisioned by Ezekiel.¹¹¹ The figure that Daniel sees as coming “like a son of man” (כְּבָר אָנֹשׁ) harks back to the coming of the Glory that Ezekiel sees “as the appearance of a human being” (כְּמֵרֵאָה אָדָם) (Dan 7:13; Ezek 1:26).¹¹² The heavenly figure in a human form comes “with the clouds of heaven” (עַם-עֲנָנֵי שָׁמַיָא), while evoking the Glory that resembles a rainbow “in a cloud on a rainy day” (בְּעָנָן בְּיוֹם הַגֶּשֶׁם) (Dan 7:13; Ezek 1:28). Notice that the figure’s being *with* the clouds resonates with the Glory’s being *in* a cloud. Just as the Glory in a cloud is divine, so is the figure with the clouds. With that in mind, it is needless to ask whether the Danielic figure “with” the clouds rather than “upon” the clouds obscures its divine status. Since, whatever the marker (“with the clouds”) may mean, allusion in Daniel 7 to Ezekiel 1 imbues the son of man figure with the divine status of the Glory.

¹¹⁰ Bowman, “The Background of the Term ‘Son of Man,’” 285; Balz, *Methodische Probleme*, 85; Lacocque, *Daniel*, 143. See also the convenient chart in Kvanvig, “Henoch und der Menschensohn,” 119. Yet, he regards Ezekiel 1 as less important than *1 Enoch* 14.

¹¹¹ Russell, *Method and Message*, 341; Kim, “The ‘Son of Man’ as the Son of God,” 15; and, Newman, *Paul’s Glory Christology*, 95-96.

¹¹² Gerhard von Rad, *The Message of the Prophets* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), 278 n.3.

Along the same line, the name of the divine body in human form, “Glory” (כְּבוֹד; Tg. Aram. קְרָא), is well echoed when the figure like a human being receives “glory” (יְקָר) (Ezek 1:28; Dan 7:14). Both are worshipped. Ezekiel “fell on his face” before the manifestation of the Glory of YHWH (Ezek 1:28). Analogously, as the figure is invested with the glory by God, people, clans, and languages all “serve” the figure (Dan 7:14). The verbal affinity between “glory” (יְקָר) and the “Glory” (יְקָר/כְּבוֹד) leads us to find another similar point of connection: the Aramaic phrase for the revered figure “son of man” (בֶּר אֱנוֹשׁ) and the Hebrew phrase for the prophet Ezekiel “Son of man” (בֶּן-אָדָם) (Dan 7:13; Ezek 2:1). The figure in Daniel 7 serves, I submit, as a complex marker that invokes the “Glory” of YHWH (the divine) and simultaneously “Son of man” (the human). One may doubt that the author of Daniel 7 designs the figure to evoke the prophet, given the connection between the figure and Glory of YHWH.¹¹³ The connection does not necessarily deter us from recognizing the *linguistic* kinship between the Aramaic “a son of man” and its Hebrew equivalent “Son of man.” This verbal sign of allusion deserves our due attention. Once the reader identifies the lexical association between the two phrases, s/he may well be prompted to recognize that both the Danielic throne-scene and the Ezekielian throne-scene have a common set of characters: a figure designated as “son of man” and an enthroned God in a human form. As Dan 7:9-14 shows the “Ancient One” on the throne and the figure who comes to the deity like “a son of man,” so does Ezek 1:26-2:1 depict “Glory of YHWH” on the throne and the prophet whom the deity calls “Son of man.”

I will deal in greater detail with the figure in Daniel as a complex sign in the section of my analysis of maximal activation of allusion. Before I turn back to the matter, I would like to

¹¹³ E.g., Delcor, “Les sources du chapitre VII de Daniel,” 311-312, observes that the Ezekiel term “son of man” is continued not in Dan 7:13 but in Dan 8:15; 10:16, though pointing out that the figure in Dan 7:13 alludes to the Glory on the throne in Ezekiel 1.

provide further evidence of textual dependence of Daniel's vision on Ezekiel's vision. Although the view that Ezekiel's merkabah-vision influenced Daniel's merkabah vision has been widely recognized, the manners in which the latter alludes to the first have not been clearly articulated.

C. Supplemental Signs of Allusion

Let me investigate the manners by discussing an abundance of supplemental signs of allusion that correlate Daniel 7 and Ezekiel 1. They operate on linguistic similarity as well as ideological kinship. In addition to the main signs of allusion, these supplemental signs of allusion dramatically reinforce our view that the author of Daniel 7 carefully designs literary allusion to Ezekiel's vision in Daniel's vision. I have demonstrated that the author fashions the main signs of allusion to connect between the throne-theophany in the *second* part of Daniel's vision and the throne-theophany in Ezekiel's vision. Interestingly, the author intends the supplemental signs to connect in principle between the four beasts in the *first* part of Daniel's vision and the four beasts in Ezekiel's vision.¹¹⁴

These supplemental signs of allusion can be divided into seven groups: a. The Prelude to the Vision; b. The Four Beasts in Daniel and the Four Beasts in Ezekiel; c. The First Beast in Daniel and the Four Beasts in Ezekiel; d. The Third Beast in Daniel and the Four Beasts in Ezekiel; e. The Fourth Beast in Daniel and the Four Beasts in Ezekiel; f. The Fourth Beast's Little Horn in Daniel and the Four Beasts in Ezekiel; and, g. The Throne –Hall in Daniel and the Throne-Hall in Ezekiel. Let me show each group and explain stylistic features of and conceptual interplay between directional markers and marked components.

¹¹⁴ On this link between the beasts in Daniel and the beasts in Ezekiel, see Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 77.

Chart IX a: The Preludes to the Vision

The Alluding Text	The Evoked Text
Daniel 7	Ezekiel 1
v. 1 In the first year (בְּשָׁנַת חִדָּה) of King Belshazzar of Babylon (בְּבָבֶל)	vv. 1, 3 In the thirtieth year (בְּשָׁלְשִׁים שָׁנָה) ... in the land of Chaldeans (בְּשַׁדְדִּים)
v. 1 Daniel saw a dream and visions of my head דְּנִינְאֵל חָזָה וְחִזּוֹי רֵאשָׁה	v. 1 I saw visions of God אֶרְאָה מְרֵאוֹת אֱלֹהִים
v. 2 I certainly saw (חָזָה הָיִיתָ) in my vision ¹¹⁵	v. 3 The word of the Lord was certainly (הָיָה הָיָה) unto Ezekiel
v. 2 I saw ... behold, four winds of heaven אָרוּ אַרְבַּע רוּחֵי שָׁמַיָא stirring up the great sea	v. 4 I saw ... behold, a wind of storm ¹¹⁶ אָרָא ... הִנֵּה רוּחַ סְעָרָה
v. 3 four great beasts were coming from the sea וְאַרְבַּע חַיּוֹן רַבִּרְבּוֹן סִלְקוֹן מִן-יָמָא	a wind of storm was coming from the north רוּחַ סְעָרָה בָּאָה מִן-הַצָּפוֹן

Both Daniel and Ezekiel begin their visionary experience with a particular setting. Daniel indicates the historical context of his nocturnal vision: “in the first year of King Belshazzar of Babylon” (Dan 7:1). The marker, Daniel’s specification of the date of his vision, is modeled on the marked, Ezekiel’s dating of his call vision (Ezek 1:1). Likewise, Daniel’s mention of the name of empire “Babylon” (בְּבָבֶל) serves as a directional marker of its marked element “Chaldean” (בְּשַׁדְדִּים), which is the name of the ruling people of the empire (Ezek 1:3). As they witness to their visions, the reader finds a link between the Aramaic marker in Daniel’s statement (“Daniel saw ... visions” [דְּנִינְאֵל ... חָזָה וְחִזּוֹי]) and the Hebrew marked in Ezekiel’s statement (“I saw visions” [אֶרְאָה מְרֵאוֹת]) (Dan 7:1; Ezek 1:1). Ezekiel and Daniel address in common in first person as well as in third person.¹¹⁷ Namely, as the seers say that they saw vision(s), they use in

¹¹⁵ This Aramaic marker “חָזָה הָיִיתָ” recurs: Dan 7:4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 21.

¹¹⁶ In Pss 107:25 God uses “a storm wind” to lift up the waves of the sea—reminiscent of the similar image in Dan 7:2, where God allows winds of heaven to stir up the great sea.

¹¹⁷ Herrman Eising, “Die Gottesoffenbarungen bei Daniel im Rahmen der alt. Theophanien,” in *Alttestamentliche Studien: Friedrich Nötscher zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag 19. Juli 1950, Gewidmet von*

common the first person pronoun, “I” (Dan 7:2; Ezek 1:1). At the same time, they refer to their personal names as recipient of their special experiences. Daniel states that “Daniel” saw a dream, evoking the similar manner in which Ezekiel states that the word of the Lord occurs to “Ezekiel” (Dan 7:1; Ezek 1:3). An emphatic expression is another shared element that functions as the marker and the marked. Daniel affirms his experience of vision, stating, “I certainly saw” (חֲזָהּ הָיִיתִי) (Dan 7:2). Daniel’s assertive diction in Aramaic finds its resonance in Ezekiel’s confident voice in Hebrew: God’s word “was certainly” (הָיָה הַיָּהּ) unto Ezekiel (Ezek 1:3).

Moreover, their initial visionary experience of the “coming wind” exhibits a marked similarity.¹¹⁸ Ezekiel sees “a wind of storm” (Ezek 1:4). Its image of violence serves as a marked when it is echoed that four winds “stirs up” the great sea in Daniel’s depiction (Dan 7:2). It is possible that “four winds of heaven” in Daniel recalls the four chariot-bearers in Ezekiel that support the vaulted sky at the “four corners of the wind-directions.”¹¹⁹ Moreover, the content of vision of both seers employs the same introductory formula, “I saw ... behold !” (אֲרָא ... הָיִיתִי, Dan 7:2) and “I saw ... behold” (אֲרָא ... הָיִיתִי, Ezek 1:4). And the introductory formula adopts the same idiom: as the four great beasts that Daniel sees “were coming from” (סָלְקוֹן מִן, Dan 7:3) the sea, so a wind of storm that Ezekiel sees “was coming from” (בָּאָה מִן) the north (Ezek 1:4).

Chart IX b: The Four Beasts in Daniel and the Four Beasts in Ezekiel

The Alluding Text	The Evoked Text
Daniel 7	Ezekiel 1
v. 3 four great beasts (אַרְבַּע חַיּוֹת) were coming	v. 5 Within it was a likeness of four beasts (אַרְבַּע חַיּוֹת)

Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern (BBB 1; ed. Hubert B. Junker and Johannes Botterweck; Bonn: Peter Hanstein Verlag G.M.B.H., 1950), 66.

¹¹⁸ Balz, *Methodische Probleme*, 85; and, Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 77.

¹¹⁹ Procksch, “Die Berufungsvision Hesekiels,” 148.

beasts,”¹²¹ the author maximizes the four beasts’ abnormality and unruliness at once. On the other hand, the author underscores the theme of the divine sovereignty, while offering a thematic contrast between the chariot-bearers’ volunteering *obedience* to the Glory of YHWH and the monstrous beasts’ forced *submission* to the Ancient One. To make my case, I will show how strategically the author designs the signs of literary allusion at work between Daniel and Ezekiel.

One may doubt the link between these two groups of beasts, given some other differences between them. Indeed, once recognizing the link between the Aramaic marker “four beasts” in Daniel and the Hebrew marked “four beasts” in Ezekiel, the reader is quickly led to see differences between the two groups of beasts. In terms of contours, the shared physical details of Ezekiel’s four beasts are found strewn over each of Daniel’s four beasts. In terms of identity, Daniel’s four beasts are symbols of human tyrants or their empires, and hence they all are in essence mundane beings (Dan 7:17, 23). By contrast, Ezekiel’s four beasts are of the celestial realm. In Ezekiel 1 they are shown to be bearers of the throne of God, while later renamed as the “cherubim” (כְּרוּבִים) in Ezekiel’s second vision of the divine chariot (Ezek 10:15).¹²²

One should not fail to see, however, that the divergences between both groups of the four beasts are designed by the author of Daniel 7 to develop the theme of the divine sovereignty. Thus a closer comparison between both groups reveals that the author intends *disunity* among the four symbolic beasts in Daniel 7 to stand in sharp contrast with *unity* among the four celestial beasts in Ezekiel 1. In terms of contours, for example, Daniel’s four beasts share nothing with

¹²¹ Robin Carole McCall, “Body/Image: Divine and Human Bodies in the Book of Ezekiel” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 2012), 197. Ezekiel paints the four beasts as having “four faces each (v.6), human forms (v.5) and hands (v.8), and straight legs with calf-like feet (v.7). The only biblical text that describes cherubim in these terms—Daniel 7 and Revelation 4—clearly draws on Ezekiel for their inspiration” (idem, pp. 67-68).

¹²² Sir 49:8 remembers Ezek 10:15: “It was Ezekiel who saw the vision of glory, which God showed him above the chariot of the cherubim.”

one another as the seer reports that “they are different from one another” (Dan 7:3). This idea of the total disparity among them becomes all the more prominent in Daniel’s depiction of the fourth beast. That the most horrid beast is most divergent recurs three times (Dan 7:7, 19, 23). Like the fourth beast, its little horn differs from all former horns (Dan 7:24). Fascinating is that the author’s emphasis on the discrepancy among the four hybrid beasts prompts the reader to discover Ezekiel’s *antithetical* emphasis on the commonality among the four chariot-bearers. As seen above, Daniel’s four beasts share nothing in appearance. By contrast, each of Ezekiel’s four beasts shares everything in appearance: appearance of a human being, a four faceted face (such as human, leonine, bovine, and aquiline one), four wings, a wheel, and the rim of the wheel (Ezek 1:5, 6, 10, 16, 18). To stress the absolutely identical form of all four beasts, Ezekiel repeatedly refers to them in use of five similar phrases: “for them” (לְהֵנָּה), “for each of them” (לְאֶחָדָם/לְאֶחָדָם), and “for the four of them” (לְאַרְבַּעַתָּן/לְאַרְבַּעַתָּם) (Ezek 1:5, 6, 10, 16, 18).

The bond between both groups of the four beasts may well be heightened as it is observed that the *chaotic disunity* among the four beasts in Daniel brings about another sharp contrast with the *self-controlled unity* among the four beasts in Ezekiel. Each of Daniel’s beasts comes successively, thereby implying that the latter overpowers the former. In effect, Daniel’s four beasts all resemble fierce predators. There is a violent contest for political hegemony among the horns of the fourth and most monstrous beast. The result is chaos. The fourth beast “devours,” “tramples,” and “destroys the whole earth,” and its little horn, symbolic of Antiochus IX, is said to “subdue” the former “three kings” (Dan 7:23-14). Unsurprisingly, all four beasts and the little horn are ones God on the throne judges to set up God’s empire. The very opposite point derives from Ezekiel’s report of the four chariot-carriers. Not only are Ezekiel’s beasts identical in form, but they also cooperate to be in God’s service. It is repeatedly stressed that, in moving in any

direction and in perfect cooperation, they strictly follow the *spirit* (Ezek 1:9, 12, 20, 21). The way in which the author of Daniel 7 *repeats* the term “differ” (שָׁנָה) to express the disorderly state of the four symbolic beasts (Dan 7, 19, 23, 24), is reminiscent of the way in which Ezekiel repeats the term “spirit” (רוּחַ) to express the perfect teamwork of the four celestial bearers (Ezek 1:9, 12, 20, 21). Unlike Daniel’s dominion-thirsty four beasts, these spirit-governed beasts in Ezekiel coexist in peace as they “touch” their wings to one another (Ezek 1:9). The prophet testifies to the “power of the spirit to unify and command” the four beasts.¹²³

In the long run, through the carefully-measured discrepancies of Ezekiel’s four beasts and Daniel’s four beasts, the author of Daniel 7 accomplishes a thematic continuity between Daniel’s vision and Ezekiel’s vision. Evoking their thorough service for the Glory of YHWH on the throne in Ezekiel, Daniel’s vision of the four beast ends with their total subjection to the Ancient One on the throne.¹²⁴ Both Ezekiel’s and Daniel’s four beasts serve to highlight the enthroned God as the author of dominion. Here one should not fail to see that the author of Daniel’s throne-vision eschatologizes Ezekiel’s prophetic throne-vision. Namely, Daniel’s throne-vision does not merely inherit Ezekiel’s visual encounter with God; the author also actualizes the theme of divine sovereignty of Ezekiel’s throne-vision in Daniel’s apocalyptic throne vision.¹²⁵ Thus the author seals Daniel’s nocturnal vision with the enthroned God’s conquest of the four beasts in

¹²³ McCall, “Body/Image: Divine and Human Bodies in the Book of Ezekiel,” 147.

¹²⁴ Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 77.

¹²⁵ Balz, *Methodische Probleme*, 93-95, deals with this issue: “Der Beitrag des Apokalyptikers von Dan 7 ist also die Verbindung der transzendenten Elemente der Spekulationen über das hoheitliche Walten Gottes im Himmel mit den endzeitlichen Elementen der prophetisch-apokalyptischen Heilserwartung” (p. 95). Ernst Haag, “Der Menschensohn und die Heiligen (des) Höchsten : eine literar-, form- und traditionsgeschichtliche Studie zu Daniel 7,” in *The Book of Daniel* (ed. Van der Woude; 1993), 176-183, elaborates on the point of Balz.

the end of time. In so doing, the author combines the divine sovereignty in Ezekiel's vision and the apocalyptic expectation of salvation in Daniel's vision.

Chart IX c: The First Beast in Daniel and the Four Beasts in Ezekiel

The Alluding Text	The Evoked Text
Daniel 7	Ezekiel 1
v. 4 the first was like a lion (אַרְיֵה) and had wings of an eagle (נֶשֶׁר) ... like a human being (אָנָשׁ), and a heart of a human being (אָנָשׁ)	v. 10 the four had the face of a human being (אָדָם), the four had the face of a lion (אַרְיֵה) ... and the four had the face of an eagle (נֶשֶׁר)
it was lifted up from the earth נִטְּלָה מִן־אֲרֶעָא	v. 19 when the living beings rose from the earth בְּהִנָּשָׂא הַחַיּוֹת מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ

There are several shared physical features of the first beast in Daniel and the four beasts in Ezekiel.¹²⁶ In the alluding text the three Aramaic terms such as “a lion” (אַרְיֵה), “an eagle” (נֶשֶׁר), and a “human being” (אָנָשׁ), all used for the portraiture of the first beast, play a directional marker (Dan 7:4). In the evoked text the three Hebrew equivalents such as “a lion” (אַרְיֵה), “an eagle” (נֶשֶׁר), and “a human being” (אָדָם), all used for the depiction of the three faces of the four beasts, serve as a marked element. In addition, Daniel's sentence that shows an act of the first beast, “it was lifted up from the earth” (נִטְּלָה מִן־אֲרֶעָא), is likely to point back to Ezekiel's sentence that shows an act of the four beasts, “when the living beings were lifted off from the earth” (בְּהִנָּשָׂא הַחַיּוֹת מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ) (Dan 7:4; Ezek 1:19).

¹²⁶ Bentzen, *Daniel*, 59; and, Feuillet, “Le Fils de l’homme de Daniel” 183. Explaining the first beast in Daniel, Rhodes, “The Kingdoms of Men and the Kingdom of God,” 417, mentions in passing Ezekiel 1. Rüdiger Bartelmus, “Die Tierwelt in der Bibel II: Tiersymbolik im Alten Testament: exemplarisch dargestellt am Beispiel von Dan 7, Ez 1, 10 und Jes 11, 6-8,” in *Gefährten und Feinde des Menschen: Das Tier in der Lebenswelt der alten Israel* (ed. Bernd Janowski et al.; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1993), 283-306, remarks that Daniel 7 “presupposes in many ways Ezekiel's texts, especially Ezek 1:10” (here, p. 295). But he does not point out the link between Dan 7:4 and Ezek 1:10.

Chart IX d. The Third Beast in Daniel and the Four Beasts in Ezekiel

The Alluding Text	The Evoked Text
Daniel 7	Ezekiel 1
v. 6 behold another one, like a leopard, and for it there was four wings (גַּפִּיִן אַרְבַּע) ... for the beast there was four heads (אַרְבַּעָה רִאשִׁין)	v. 6 for each of them there was four faces (אַרְבַּע כְּנָפִים) and each of them there was four wings (אַרְבַּע כְּנָפִים)

Daniel sees a third beast that resembles a leopard. This four-headed beast has four bird's wings on its sides. The link between the third beast in Daniel and the four beasts in Ezekiel lies in the image of "four wings."¹²⁷ That in Daniel's vision the third beasts share the image of wings with the first beast does not preclude the link between the third beast in Daniel and the four beasts in Ezekiel.¹²⁸ Although the first beast too has "wings," its wings are plucked off (Dan7:4). Moreover, it is unclear whether, like the third beast, the first beast has *four* wings. In fact, the recurring number "four" prompts the reader to recognize the sign at work. With the link between these two "four wings" in mind, therefore, the reader may well find that the third beast's "*four* heads" (אַרְבַּעָה רִאשִׁין) well echoes the four beasts' "*four* faces" (אַרְבַּע כְּנָפִים). The link between the two "four wings" is bolstered by another link between "four heads" and "four faces." As a result, the combination of "four wings" and "four heads" in Daniel's third beast alludes nicely to the combination of "four wings" and "four faces" in Ezekiel's four beasts. The distinctive number "four" here may well indicate an idea of "universal activity" that Ezekiel's four beasts clearly show.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Steinmann, *Daniel* (1960), 87.

¹²⁸ Pace Plöger, *Daniel*, 109.

¹²⁹ Goldingay, *Daniel*, 163, mentions Ezek 1:5-6.

Chart II e: The Fourth Beast in Daniel and the Four Beasts in Ezekiel

The Alluding Text	The Evoked Text
Daniel 7	Ezekiel 1
v. 19 the fourth beast ... its claws of bronze (נְחֹשׁ) ... trampled down the remainder with its feet (רַגְלֵיהָ)	v. 7 their feet (רַגְלֵיהֶם) (were) a straight foot (רַגֵּל) and the soles of their feet (רַגְלֵיהֶם) was like the soles of a calf, and they gleamed like burnished bronze (נִחְשָׁת).
vv. 7, 19 and behold, a fourth beast! dreadful and terrible (דָּחִילָה וְאִמְתָּנִי) and extremely strong ... extremely dreadful (דָּחִילָה יְתִירָה)	vv. 18, 22 As for their rims, for them there is majesty (גִּבּוֹהַ), ¹³⁰ and for them there is dread (יִרְאָה) ... the gleam of dreadful crystal (הַקֶּרַח הַנּוֹרָא)
v. 11 the beast was slain ... and given to the burning fire (יִקְרָת אֵשׁ)	v. 13a the beasts, their appearances were like burning coals of fire (נִגְלִי-אֵשׁ בְּעֻרֹת)

Scholars' attention to the fourth beast in Daniel's vision have been restricted to the fourth empire in Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Dan 2:40). I would argue that, through the inter-literary link between Daniel's vision and Ezekiel's vision, the author of Daniel 7 highlights both the fourth beast's cruelty as well as its surrender to God. As in the first and third beasts, the author forges verbal parallels between the fourth beasts in Daniel and the four beasts in Ezekiel. The prophet keeps his eye on the appearance of the feet of the four beasts. In doing so, Ezekiel struggles to recount adequately his visionary experience.¹³¹ Overcome with the content of the vision that transcends the bounds of his ordinary human experience,¹³² Ezekiel often utters unclear expressions. In his delineation of the feet of the four beasts, for example, the grammar hardly

¹³⁰ Nahum M. Waldman, "A Note on Ezekiel 1:18," *JBL* 103/4 (1984): 614-618. MT Ezek 1:18 is difficult. Waldman's translation appeals especially to some Sumerian and Akkadian material. *HALOT*, 1:171, suggests the Hebrew's metaphorical meaning "pride" that is attestable elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. E.g., Pss 10:4 "In the *pride* of their countenance the wicked say ..."; Prov 16:18 "*Pride* goes before destruction ..."; and, 2 Chr 32:26 "Hezekiah humbled the *pride* of his heart."

¹³¹ Daniel I. Block, "Text and Emotion: A Study in the 'Corruptions' in Ezekiel's Inaugural Vision (Ezekiel 1:4-28)," *CBQ* 50/3 (1988): 418-442, points out difficulties under three rubrics: "problems of grammar, style, and substance" (pp. 419-425).

¹³² Wolfson, *Through a Speculum that Shine*, 120.

works.¹³³ Ezekiel's confusion of number notwithstanding, it is indisputable that the prophet is deeply impressed by the feet/foot of the throne-bearers. Thus he portrays in detail "their feet" (רַגְלֵיהֶם) whose soles brilliantly shine like burnished "bronze" (נְחֹשֶׁת) (Ezek 1:7).¹³⁴ It is both the feet and the bronze that Daniel's vision recycles for the depiction of the fourth beast: the fourth beast stamps on the residue of its prey with "its feet" (רַגְלֵיהָ) whose claws are of "bronze" (נְחֹשֶׁת) (Dan 7:19). Here "their feet" in Ezekiel is remodeled into "its feet" in Daniel. More interestingly, the author of Daniel 7 deprives their bronze-like feet of the quality of shining, while shifting their bronze "soles"¹³⁵ to its bronze "claws" (Ezek 1:7; Dan 7:19). This lexical reorientation on the part of Daniel's vision leads to the radical change of the mood of depiction. Notice that the prophet's admiration with the feet of the four beasts is transformed to Daniel's terror at the feet of the fourth beast. Thus, whereas Ezekiel may well be struck with the awe-inspiring beauty of their straight and glittering feet, Daniel finds himself terrified at the utterly destroying power of the fourth beast's feet that makes it "extremely dreadful" (דְּחִילָה יְתִירָה) (Dan 7:9).

True, Daniel's horror at the fourth beast serves as a directional marker in which the reader finds its marked component in Ezekiel's awe at the four beasts. From the beginning Daniel cannot help but shiver with fright upon seeing the fourth beast, crying, "Behold! a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible (דְּחִילָה וְאִימָתָנִי)" (Dan 7:7). The language of Daniel's feeling of great fear of the fourth beast finds an ideological continuity in that of Ezekiel's feeling of great

¹³³ On this difficulty, see G.A. Cooke, *The Book of Ezekiel* (ICC 38; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1936), 12-13; and, Block, "Text and Emotions," 421.

¹³⁴ Heb. נִצְצִים refers both to the "feet" and to their parts, "soles." Thus the soles of the chariot-bearers are of shining bronze.

¹³⁵ Heb. singular. כֶּף.

reverence for the four beasts: the rims of their wheels hold Ezekiel in awe; he finds in them “pride” (גְּבוּהָה) and “dread” (יִרְאָה) (Ezek 1:18). Finally, Daniel’s fearsome beast is ended in the “burning fire” (יִקְדַּת אֵשׁ) after the execution of the judgment of God (Dan 7:11). This depiction of the beast’s destruction by fire becomes paradoxical enough when it is compared with the depiction of the four beasts’ command of fire. In other words, when the reader finds the verbal connection between the fourth beast’s body cast to the “burning fire” (יִקְדַּת אֵשׁ) and the four beasts’ form like “burning coals of fire” (גַּחֲלֵי־אֵשׁ בַּעֲרוֹת), the reader comes to know how much the latter is mightier than the first. Again, the allusion in Daniel 7 to Ezekiel 1 highlights the theme of the divine sovereignty: the Ancient One on the throne that is over the heads of these powerful four beasts. However the fourth beast is frightening and destructive, therefore, God annihilates it.

Chart II f: The Fourth Beast’s Little Horn in Daniel and the Four Beasts in Ezekiel

The Alluding Text	The Evoked Text
Daniel 7	Ezekiel 1
vv. 8, 20 behold, there were eyes (עֵינַיִן) of a human being in the horn ... that had eyes (עֵינַיִן)	v.18 the rims of all four of them were full of eyes (עֵינַיִם) round about
vv. 8, 11, 20, 25 a mouth speaking great things (רַב־רִבְּרָן) ... the voice (קֹל) of the great (רַב־רִבְּרָא) words that the horn was speaking ... he shall speak words against the Most High (עֲלִיָּא)	v. 24 I heard the sound (קוֹל) of their wings like the sound (קוֹל) of abundant (רַב־יָם) waters as they went, like the voice (קוֹל) of the Almighty (שֹׁדֵי), a sound (קוֹל) of tumult like the sound (קוֹל) of an army camp whenever they stood still, they dropped their wings

After recognizing the link between the fourth beast in Daniel and the four beasts in Ezekiel, the reader may well go on to discover a subtler connection, namely, a little horn of the fourth beast’s horns and the rims of the four beasts’ wheels. Often commentators attempt to explain the eyes of the horn as a *person*’s arrogance, suggesting some possible parallels in Isa 2:11; 5:15 and Psalm

101:5.¹³⁶ Special attention, however, should have been paid to the fact that in the Hebrew Bible the focusing on the eyes as part of a *beast*'s body in a visionary report is attested to only in Ezek 1:18 and Dan 7:8, 20. Daniel is amazed at the emergence of a little horn from among the fourth beast's horns. Daniel's double observation of the horn's eyes invokes Ezekiel's report of the four beasts' wheels whose rims are full of eyes all around. Here the first marker and its marked are shown as identical. Both the fourth beast's little horn and the four beasts' rims have the shared term, "eyes" (עֵינַיִם/עֵינִי) (Dan 7:8, 20; Ezek 1:18). The link between the horn and the four beasts is bolstered by another sign of allusion: Daniel's depiction of the little horn's mouth points back to Ezekiel's depiction of the four beasts' wings. Thus, as the little horn's mouth speaks the "voice" (קֹל) of "great" (רַב־רִבְּתָא) things, so the four beasts' wings yield the "sound" (קוֹל) of the abundant (רַב־יָם) waters (Dan 7:11; Ezek 1:24). This verbal linkage leads the reader to recognize the contrast between the horn's defiance to God and the four cherubim's deference to God. Not only in "voice" does the horn rebel against the "Most High" but also in action (Dan 7:8, 20, 25). While exhausting the deity's holy ones, the horn attempts to alter the seasons and the law that the "Most High" governs (Dan 7:25). This rebellious image of the horn is forged against the background of Ezekiel's portrayal of the four beasts as completely obeying their God. Quite unlike the horn's mouth that projects a blasphemous "sound" (קֹל) of arrogant words, the four beasts' wings emit the "sound" (קוֹל) that mimics the "voice" (קוֹל) of the "Almighty" (Dan 7:11; Ezek 1:24).¹³⁷ The horn's blasphemous mouth is uncontrollable, whereas the wings make

¹³⁶ E.g., Montgomery, *Daniel*, 290; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 164; and, Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 299.

¹³⁷ Notice the parallel between Daniel's divine name the "Most High" and Ezekiel's divine name the "Almighty" (Dan 7:25; Ezek 1:24). In the adopted text, the divine name the "Almighty" (Ezek 1:24) is alternately used with the other divine epithet, the Glory of YHWH (Ezek 1:28). In the adoptive text, therefore, we can say that the divine name the "Most High" (Dan 7:18, 22, 25, 27) may well have its alternate divine epithet, the "Ancient One" (Dan 7:9, 13, 22). Namely, the Most High refers to none other than the Ancient One.

the divine-voice-like sound only when they move at the command of God. As a “voice” from above their heads came, they stop and lower their wings (Ezek 1:25).

Chart IX g: The Divine Chariot in Daniel and the Divine Chariot in Ezekiel

The Alluding Text	The Evoked Text
Daniel 7	Ezekiel 1
v. 9b his throne was flames of fire (שְׂבִיבֵין דִּי־נֹר),	vv. 4, 27b fire (שֹׁא) was flashing intermittently from the midst of it (something is) like the gleam of amber from the midst of fire (שֹׁא) ... I saw (something) like the gleam of amber, like the appearance of fire (שֹׁא) there was a splendor all around him
its wheels were burning fire גִּלְגָּלוֹתַי נֹר דָּלֶק	v. 16 the appearance of the wheels (גִּלְגָּלִי/אֹפָנִים) ¹³⁸ ... like the gleam of beryl
v. 10 A stream of fire (נֹר) flowed out and issued (נָפַק) from before him. A thousand thousands served him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him	v. 13b As for the likeness of the beasts, their appearance was like burning coals of fire (שֹׁא), like an appearance of torches moving to and fro among the beasts. The fire (שֹׁא) was radiant, lightning was issuing (נָפַק/יוֹצֵא) ¹³⁹ from the fire (שֹׁא)

It has been widely acknowledged that the blazing throne with fiery wheels in Daniel 7 stems from the incandescent chariot in Ezekiel 1.¹⁴⁰ Ezekiel’s vision of the divine merkabah imparts a message to postexilic Israel that God did not abdicate God’s throne regardless of the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem and the temple.¹⁴¹ Ezekiel’s reassuring message of God’s sovereignty

¹³⁸ Cohen, *Mikra’ot Gedolot ‘Haketer*,’ 8. The use of the term “wheels” is prominent: Ezek 1:15 (singular), 19, 20, 21.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 6.

¹⁴⁰ E.g., Bowman, “The Background of the Term ‘Son of Man,’” 285; and, Feuillet, “Le Fils de l’homme de Daniel,” 183-184; Lacocque, *Daniel*, 143; and, Haag, “Der Menschensohn und die Heiligen (des) Höchsten,” 164-165. Curiously enough, Feuillet associates the divine-throne in Daniel 7 with only Ezek 10:2, not with Ezekiel 1.

¹⁴¹ Dale Launderville, *Spirit and Reason: The Embodied Character of Ezekiel’s Symbolic Thinking* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007), 59; idem, “Ezekiel’s Throne-Chariot Vision: Spiritualizing the Model of Divine Royal Rule,” *CBQ* 66/3 (2004):361-377.

over God's people in the first wave of the Babylonian exile is transmitted in Daniel 7, where Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the desecrator of the Jerusalem temple and the arch-enemy of God's people in the second century B.C.E., will be judged by God seated on God's chariot-throne. This profound thematic continuity is embedded in linguistic and ideological connections between two divine chariots. No scholars have articulated the extent in which Daniel's throne scene alludes to Ezekiel's throne scene. Let me offer a more detailed analysis of the exquisitely designed system of allusion.

It has long been recognized that in both the evoking text and the evoked text the image of fire functions as a controlling motif. Thus the merkabah scene in Daniel 7 employs several different terms that all convey in concert the fiery image of God's throne: "flames of fire," "burning fire," and "a stream of fire" (Dan 7:9, 10). Likewise, the merkabah scene in Ezekiel 1 lays emphasis on the fiery image by constantly repeating the term "fire" (Ezek 1:4, 13, 27). The "wheels" (גִּלְגָּלִיּוֹתֵי) of Daniel's chariot is reminiscent of the "wheels" (גִּלְגָּלִיּוֹתֵי/אֹפְנִים) of Ezekiel's chariot (Dan 7:9; Ezek 1:16).¹⁴²

It has attracted little attention, however, that the author of Daniel 7 does not slavishly repeat Ezekiel's portrayal of the divine throne but skillfully modifies it to make the author's point. The variation of Daniel's vision on Ezekiel's vision is worthy of our closer attention, for the variation demonstrates the author's deeper understanding of Ezekiel's vision. In the evoked text of Ezekiel's vision, for example, Ezekiel uses the fiery imagery to depict the great cloud, the four beasts, and the body of the divinity (Ezek 1:4, 27). For both the divine throne and its wheels, to the contrary, the prophet does not use an image of *fire* but rather an image of precious *stone*,

¹⁴² D. Karl Marti, *Das Buch Daniel* (KHC 18; Tübingen: Verlag von J.C.B. Mohr, 1901), 52; Porteus, *Daniel*, 108; and, Rhodes, "The Kingdoms of Men and the Kingdom of God," 422.

“sapphire” and “beryl” respectively (Ezek 1:16, 26).¹⁴³ Intriguingly, in the alluding text of Daniel’s vision the fire image saturates the merkabah: God’s throne is “ablaze with flames” and its wheels are “burning fire” (Dan 7:9). As a result, Daniel’s vision furnishes the powerful image of fire with the divine chariot—image that Ezekiel does not share.¹⁴⁴ Why then does the author of Daniel’s vision describe as blazing both the throne and the wheels? Presumably the author perceives the wheels as part of the celestial throne-bearers and hence fiery. For they are shown to be clearly in flames in Ezekiel’s report (Ezek 1:13). Likewise, Ezekiel’s portrayal of the lower part of the divine body as fire-likeness impacts Daniel’s portrayal of the throne on which the deity sits (Ezek 1:26). The reason the author intensifies the image of fire for the merkabah scene lies in the author’s intention to stress the divine sovereignty in which the enthroned God judges the four monstrous empires to set up the deity’s empire. The author’s depiction of a fiery throne and wheels, therefore, is not a digression from Ezekiel’s vision; rather, it is a faithful interpretation that continues the same emphasis of Ezekiel’s vision on the divine absolute rule.

More remarkable is the use of the image of fire in Daniel’s vision. The author modifies Ezekiel’s depiction of the divine occupant of the throne. In Ezekiel’s vision the human form of the divine body is fully clothed with fire. The divine body resembles amber-colored “fire” that radiates from what appears to be its waist upward and resembles “fire” from his waist downward (Ezek 1:27). On the contrary, in Daniel’s vision the anthropomorphic image of God on the throne

¹⁴³ Scholars erroneously assume that both Daniel’s chariot and Ezekiel’s chariot are ablaze. E.g., Bowman, “The Background of the Term ‘Son of Man,’” 285; Feuillet, “Le Fils de l’homme de Daniel,” 183; Bittner, “Gott-Menschensohn-Davidssohn,” 347; Hartmut Gese, “Die Bedeutung der Krise unter Antiochus IV Epiphanes für die Apokalyptik des Danielbuches,” *ZTK* 80/4 (1983), 380 n.16; and, Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 76.

¹⁴⁴ S.R. Driver, *The Book of Daniel: With Introduction and Notes* (Cambridge: the University Press, 1912), 86, nicely states that “The representation of the throne and wheels as *being* fire is, however, more than is found in the visions of Ezekiel” (emphasis original).

is never lit with fire. Instead, the Ancient One's appearance takes on a white color, which is not a color of fire: the deity's clothing is "white as snow" and his hair is like "pure wool" (Dan 7:9). Again, this does not seem to be a discrepancy between these two throne-scenes. On the surface, one may think the author opts to describe God differently from Ezekiel. However, a closer look unveils the fact that the idea of God in Daniel's vision is carefully modeled on that in Ezekiel's vision. To deal with this matter, one needs to pay special attention to the fact that the fiery image of God in Ezekiel's vision does not indicate that God's body is composed of fire. As well implied by the prophet's making ample use of the language of analogy such as "appearance of" (מֵרָאָה), "likeness of" (דְּמוּת), and "like/as" (כְּ), Ezekiel conjures up the image of fire only to try to depict heavenly beings, including the Glory of YHWH, that surpass all the confines of ordinary human experience.¹⁴⁵ As a matter of fact, a closer image that Ezekiel frequently employs for portraying the divine form resides in an image of light. In the climax of Ezekiel's vision, therefore, the prophet clarifies that the Glory of YHWH on the throne has a *luminous* corporeality: "There was the splendor (הִנָּה) around him. Like the appearance of the rainbow (הַקֶּשֶׁת) ... such was the appearance of the splendor (הִנָּה) all around. This was the appearance of the likeness of the Glory of YHWH" (Ezek 1:27-28). The divine body in human form is not of fire but of light that derives from something resembling fire.

Again, we can say that the author of Daniel 7 continues Ezekiel's point of the divine form. Ezekiel appears to be at a loss to describe the brilliant form of the Glory's body in such a way as to choose only comparative language for fire. The author of Daniel's vision opts to depict the light image of the divine body only as the pure white, while completely refraining from adopting

¹⁴⁵ מֵרָאָה (Ezek 1:5, 13[×2], 14, 16[×2], 26[×2], 27[×4], 28[×3]); דְּמוּת (Ezek 1:5[×2], 10, 13, 16, 22, 26[×3], 28); and כְּ (Ezek 1:4, 7[×2], 13[×2], 14, 16[×2], 22, 24[×3], 26[×2], 27[×3], 28). On Ezekiel's use of analogical language, see Block, "Text and Emotion," 429-430.

any fire image in depicting the divine form. Indeed, Daniel's vision shows a tendency to separate the image of fire from God. The first half of Dan 7:10 depicts a stream of fire as issuing "from before him" (מִן־קִדְמוֹהִי). The phrase "from before him" does not necessarily denote "from the Ancient One," for the second half of Dan 7:10 quickly makes it clear that it is the innumerable heavenly host "before him" (קִדְמוֹהִי). This may well imply that the stream of fire flowing "from before him" runs not from the deity on the throne but rather from the angelic bystanders "before him." That Daniel's vision attributes the fountain of the fiery stream to God's celestial entourage is reinforced by an additional continuity between Daniel and Ezekiel. Daniel's image of the fire-generating angelic host is in congruous with Ezekiel's image of the fiery chariot-holders. They have a look both of "burning coals of fire" and of "torches moving to and fro" (Ezek 1:13). A stream of "fire" (נֹר) flows and "issues" (נִפְק) from the angelic bystanders (Dan 7:10). Likewise, the "fire" (אֵשׁ) radiates from the four chariot-bearers ablaze so much so that lighting "issues" (נִפְיָק/יֹצֵא) from their fire (Dan 7:10; Ezek 1:13).

All in all, Daniel's vision lays more emphasis on the fiery image of God's angelic attendants than Ezekiel's vision. In so doing, the author of Daniel 7 allows these divine agents to be "best suited to represent" God's absolute "power to destroy all that is sinful or unholy."¹⁴⁶ The author's stress on the angels' fiery image as showing God's destroying power is further continued in Daniel 10, where two angels are depicted as champions that protect God's people from the celestial powers of Persia and Greece (Dan 10:21).

¹⁴⁶ Driver, *The Book of Daniel*, 85.

D. Maximum Activation of Allusion in Daniel's Vision to Ezekiel's Vision

1. The Figure like a Son of Man as the Holy People of Israel

In this section I will discuss in greater detail the identity of the figure like a son of man in terms of allusion in Daniel to Ezekiel. Let me offer two important points. First, the allusion reinforces the angel's interpretation of the figure as Israel. I have argued above that the man-like figure in Daniel's throne vision functions as a complex marker that has two marked elements in Ezekiel's throne vision: the "Glory" of YHWH and the prophet Ezekiel's special title "Son of man." When I maintain that the figure is linked to the prophet's special appellation, I am not saying that, like the prophet Ezekiel, the figure in Daniel 7 is a being of purely human nature.¹⁴⁷ The sign of allusion at work between the Aramaic appellation and the Hebrew appellation is based primarily on their verbal affinity. To be sure, the figure is beyond humankind. The Aramaic phrase "like a son of man" clarifies that the figure is not identical with but *resembles* a human being.¹⁴⁸ This man-like figure is *superior* to all other beast-like rulers/empires in that only the man-like ruler's dominion is "eternal" (Dan 7:14). Thus the figure is invested with the supreme rule that embodies the Ancient One's sovereignty over the whole humankind, namely, "peoples, clans, and languages" (Dan 7:14).¹⁴⁹ More important, the figure comes "with clouds," recalling the Glory "in a cloud" as well as the OT image of cloud concomitant with the divine theophany (Dan 7:13; Ezek 1:28).¹⁵⁰ This indicates the figure's divine status *above* humankind in general.

¹⁴⁷ Chrys C. Caragounis, *The Son of Man: Vision and Interpretation* (WUNT 38; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1986), 76-77.

¹⁴⁸ Procksch, *Berufungsvision Hesekiels*, 148, refers to "כְּבֶרֶךְ אֱנוֹשׁ" as "die menschenähnliche εἰκών τοῦ θεοῦ" (the one who is the humankind-resembling image of God). Similarly, Balz, *Methodische Probleme*, 80-95, frequently adopts the term "Menschennähnlichkeit" for the figure in Daniel 7.

¹⁴⁹ Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, 98.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. OG Dan 7:13, "ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (on the clouds of heaven). On the significance of the Septuagint's reading of the figure "on the clouds," see Robert. B.Y. Scott, "Behold, He Cometh with Clouds," *NTS* 5/2 (1959): 127-132; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "'One like a Son of Man as the Ancient of Days' in the Old Greek Recension of Daniel 7, 13: Scribal Error or Theological Translation?,"

Despite its majestic and superhuman attributes, it is equally fascinating that this figure is never equivalent to the Ancient One. The figure's rank is *inferior* to the enthroned deity's rank in that the figure is subordinate to the deity who governs the celestial hall (Dan 7:13). The hierarchical relationship between the figure and God becomes clearer through literary allusion in Daniel's merkabah-scene to Ezekiel's merkabah-scene.¹⁵¹ Although the figure participates in some aspects of the Glory's divine attributes, the figure, much unlike the Glory that owns the throne, never occupies a throne (Ezek 1:27). In Daniel, the figure only moves towards and is presented "before the Ancient One," implying that it stays in the midst of the angelic host that stands "before the Ancient One" (Dan 7:10, 13).¹⁵² There glory "was given" (יְהִי) to the figure (Dan 7:14). Namely, the figure is confined to a passive recipient of glory as well as dominion and kingship—all belonging *ab origine* to God. But the "Glory" of YHWH is in essence inherent in YHWH, thus representing YHWH (Ezek 1:28). Notice that a "semantic transformation" of the Ezekielian term "Glory" occurs through allusion.¹⁵³ In Ezekiel's vision the term "Glory" serves to indicate the Glory's *intrinsic* divinity. In Daniel's vision, by contrast, the term "glory" serves to connote the figure's *promoted* status that remains under the Ancient One's authority.

This line of reasoning of the Daniel son of man figure brings me to my second point. The allusion in Daniel's vision to Ezekiel's vision focuses on God's *aggrandizing* the figure to the

ZNW 86/3-4 (1995): 268-276; and, Otfried Hofius, "Der Septuaginta-Text von Daniel 7,13-14: Erwägungen zu seiner Gestalt und seiner Aussage," ZAW 117 (2005):73-90.

¹⁵¹ The hierarchical relationship between the Ancient One and the figure like a son of man reflects that which exists between the Glory, the divine charioteer, and the four chariot-bearers. For the hierarchy in Ezekiel's vision, see Stephen L. Cook, "Cosmos, *Kabod*, and Cherub: Ontological and Epistemological Hierarchy in Ezekiel," in *Ezekiel's Hierarchical World: Wrestling with a Tiered Reality* (ed. idem and Corrine L. Patton; SBLSS 31; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 179-198.

¹⁵² Aram. קִדְמוֹהִי (before him; 7:10), קִדְמוֹהִי (before him; 7:13).

¹⁵³ Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, 98. Thus Newman rightly states that the "glory" in Daniel's vision functions as a "signifier of the exalted position" of the figure (p. 103).

status between humankind and God. My view of the figure via the lens of allusion to Ezekiel may well be accordant with the interpreting angel's view of the figure in Daniel 7.¹⁵⁴

Overwhelmed by his nocturnal vision, Daniel approaches one of the attendants of the Ancient One (Dan 7:16). Invoking the scene of theophany in throne-hall, the angel renames the figure as “the holy ones of the Most High” who will receive the eternal empire (Dan 7:18). The angel further explains that the little horn of the fourth beast will “wear out the holy ones of the Most High” (Dan 7:25). This horn flourishes until the Ancient One comes to vindicate the “holy ones” (Dan 7:22). The deity returns “dominion” away from the little horn to the “people of the holy ones of the Most High” (Dan 7:26-27). The “people of the holy ones” refer to none other than the people of Israel in the 2nd century B.C.E. Judea. As painted in the angel's interpretation, they were miserably afflicted under Antiochus IV. In a trying time they persisted in loyalty to God even at the price of life.

In understanding the figure's identity as the faithful people of God, one cannot fail to see the direct parallel between the angel's depiction of Israel and Daniel's depiction of the figure. The decisive moment in which the Ancient One elevates the deity's holy people to ruler explicitly harks back to the scene in which the Ancient One glorifies the figure as ruler (Dan 7:13, 27). The close parallelism between the figure (an individual) and the people (a collective entity) is unmistakable.¹⁵⁵ Daniel states that the figure like a son of man “was given” (יְהִיב) “dominion” (שְׁלֹטָן) and “empire” (מְלִכּוּת) (Dan 7:14). Just so, the angel says that the “people of

¹⁵⁴ The identity of the one coming like a son of man in Daniel 7 has long been a subject of scholarly debate: 1) Messiah; 2) angelic being; 3) the people of Israel; 4) the glory of YHWH in Ezekiel; 5) Adam. For bibliographical survey, see Montgomery, *Daniel*, 317-324; and, Egger, *Influence and Traditions*, 88-95. I suggest that the figure should represent the apotheosis of ideal people of Israel not only based on the angel's interpretation in Daniel 7, but also based on the figure's allusion to the Glory of YHWH in Ezekiel 1.

¹⁵⁵ Baldwin, *Daniel*, 150.

the holy ones of the Most High” “were given” (יְהִיבַת)¹⁵⁶ “the empire and the dominion” (מְלֻכּוּתָהּ וְשִׁלְטָנָא) (Dan 7:27). Daniel sees the figure as afforded “glory” and as worshipped by “all the peoples, clans, and languages” (Dan 7:14). The angel recounts: “all the dominions will serve and obey” God’s people, who were given the “greatness of the empires under the whole heaven” (Dan 7:14, 27). As “his empire” (מְלֻכּוּתָהּ) in Daniel’s vision “will not be destroyed,” so “his empire” (מְלֻכּוּתָהּ) in the angel’s interpretation is “everlasting empire” (Dan 7:14, 27). All in all, the *interpretes angelus* regards the figure like a son of man as the faithful people of God.

An important question remains: how do we explain two different portrayals of Israel? The one is historical and lowly in Judea, whereas the other is transcendental and sublime in the throne-room. This matter has long puzzled students of Daniel. Given the strong connection between Daniel’s vision and the angel’s interpretation, I doubt that both of them entail any “literary mismatch” that presupposes two independent apocalypses in Daniel 7.¹⁵⁷ Instead, the double depiction of Israel both as the “figure” in glory and as the “people” in suffering, I submit, expresses the ontological transformation of God’s loyal people from a human being to an angelic being.¹⁵⁸ Hence, in identifying the figure like a son of man with the people of Israel, the interpreting angel envisions, to borrow Black’s term, a “corporate apotheosis” of the righteous

¹⁵⁶ Lit. “was given.”

¹⁵⁷ Daniel Boyarin, “Daniel 7, Intertextuality, and the History of Israel’s Cult,” *HTR* 105/2 (2012): 139-162 (here, p. 147). Similarly, W.O.E. Oesterley, *The Jews and Judaism during the Greek Period: The Background of Christianity* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1941), 153-155.

¹⁵⁸ The Jewish idea of human assimilation to angelic beings is widely observable in texts of the Second Temple period. Perhaps the idea is related to the view of Adam as angelic (cf. *Jub.* 3:13; 3 *Bar.* 4:7-16; 2 *En* 30:11; *Apoc. Adam.* 76:5-6; *T. Ab.* 11; *Ant.* 1.70; 1QS 4 22-23). 4QInstruction urges its intended addressee to live as “קֹדֶשׁ קִדְשִׁים” (a holy of holies), thereby identifying the human addressee with an angelic being (4Q418 81 4). The expression “a holy of holies” as referring to human addressee gives a hint of the same nuance for the Danielic phrase “קִדְשִׁין” (the holy ones) as the glorified Israel (Dan 7:18, 21, 22, 25, 27). For 4QInstruction’s community and its angelic soteriology, see Matthew J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 104-115.

Israel in the celestial throne-room.¹⁵⁹ The deified Israel, namely, the man-like figure, becomes God's vice-regent in control of the whole of humankind.¹⁶⁰ Installed as the divine intermediary, the figure ranks between the Ancient One and the entire humankind. This is why the author of Daniel 7 crafts the allusion in a way in which the figure in the throne-hall is not identical with the enthroned Glory but *partakes* some divine attributes of the Glory.¹⁶¹

Of primary significance is the fact that, in depicting the man-like figure, Daniel witnesses only the very moment of the angelic transformation of God's people in the end time. In interpreting Daniel's vision, by contrast, the angel focuses on God's people in tribulation prior to their eschatological exaltation in the heavenly throne-hall. According to the angel, therefore, the apotheosis of God's people in heaven is wrought only after the fulfillment of the divinely-set duration of their tribulation of on earth, "a time, two times, and half a time" (Dan 7:25). Until then, they are conquered by Antiochus IV, while keeping loyal to and ultimately delivered by the Ancient One (Dan 7:21-22, 25). When the Ancient One judges their enemy (Dan 7:22, 26), these suffering-refined Israel is made visible as the man-like figure, who is given "dominion" and "empire" (Dan 7:14, 27). In this way the author imparts to Jewish audiences/readers the exhortative message. The steadfast Jews at the time of Seleucid imperial rule will find comfort in

¹⁵⁹ Black, "The Throne Theophany," 63.

¹⁶⁰ This concept of son of man whom God glorifies as ruling over the beasts but being lower than God has a precedence in Psalms 8 (esp. 8:6) and 80. See Eduard Hertlein, *Die Menschensohnfrage im letzten Stadium: ein Versuch zur Einsicht in das Wesen altchristlichen Schrifttums* (Berlin: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1911), 62-63; 174-176; Eric W. Heaton, *The Book of Daniel: Introduction and Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1956), 184-185; and, Paul G. Mosca, "Ugarit and Daniel 7: A Missing Link," *Biblica* 67/4 (1986): 501 n.31, 517.

¹⁶¹ In 1 Cor 15:27-28 Paul mentions Christ's rank in relation to God, interpreting Pss 8:6: "For 'God has put all things in subjection under his feet.' But when it says, 'All things are put in subjection,' it is plain that this does not include the one who put all things in subjection under him. When all things are subjected to him, then the Son himself will also be subjected to the one who put all things in subjection under him, so that God may be all in all" (NRSV). The NT idea of partaking God's attribute appears in 2 Peter 1:4, where Christ is depicted as making Christians "become participants of the divine nature."

their exalted divine status in the end time. They will resemble the anthropomorphic manifestation of God to which the prophet Ezekiel witnesses.

2. The Figure like a Son of Man, the *Maskilim*, and the Prophet Ezekiel

The fact that the suffering of God's people is a prelude to their eschatological glorification turns my attention to the internal allusion in the figure to the *maskilim*. In a larger frame of the book of Daniel the figure in Daniel 7 foresees the *maskilim* in Daniel 11-12.¹⁶² These *dramatis personae* in Daniel allude to Ezekiel. I have argued above that Daniel's depiction of the glorified figure displays its profound indebtedness to Ezekiel's depiction of the Glory of YHWH (Ezek 1:4-2:1). I will show in this section that the depiction of the *maskilim*'s ministerial activities and eschatological fate in Daniel 11-12 are anchored in the account of Ezekiel's prophetic office (Ezek 2:2-3:21). Indeed, both the figure and the *maskilim* share two aspects of God's faithful people in Daniel: persecution by Antiochus IV and exaltation by God. In Daniel, therefore, the theme of elevation of God's people revolves around allusions in both characters to Ezekiel.

Let me begin by probing how the figure and the *maskilim* envision God's steadfast people in resistance to Antiochus IV. In Daniel 7 the figure is God's people who are tyrannized by Antiochus IV. The monarch represented by the little horn wages war against and prevails over them (Dan 7:25). In Daniel 11 the horn resurfaces as the "northern king" who stands for Antiochus IV. The king oppresses the *maskilim* by "sword," "flame," "captivity," and "plunder" (Dan 11:28, 33). Remarkable is a close affinity between the little horn in Daniel 7 and the northern king in Daniel 11. As the little horn "speaks against the Most High," so the northern king, while exalted and magnified above every god, "speaks horrendous things against the God

¹⁶² David, "The Composition and Structure of The Book of Daniel," 198-206.

of gods” (Dan 7:25; 11:36). The Seleucid tyrant maltreats God’s people, attempting to alter “times” (זְמַנִּין) (Dan 7:25). God admits its rule over God’s people, to whom the *maskilim* belong, only until the “designated time” (מוֹעֵד) (Dan 7:25; 11:35). Given the persecution of God’s people, both the son of man figure and the *maskilim* stand not so much for the *whole* body of Israel but for part of Israel that remains loyal to God through intense suffering which is under God’s sovereignty. In Daniel 7 the figure symbolizes only God’s faithful people under persecution by the little horn/Antiochus IV. Therefore, the exaltation of the figure in the divine throne-hall refers to that of the true Israel as God’s people in the end time.¹⁶³ In Daniel 11-12 the *maskilim* shepherd the persecuted people of God who are slain by the king of north/Antiochus IV and who are resurrected by God. The magnificent image of the figure is vividly remembered in the *maskilim*. After revived by God, the *maskilim* will “shine like the brightness of the expanse of heaven” (Dan 12:3). Evoking the figure in deification in God’s throne-room in heaven, the *maskilim* become a transcendental being of an eternal luminosity in heaven.¹⁶⁴

The palpable analogy between the figure and the *maskilim* makes me take one step further by asking how the idea of apotheosis of God’s people develops from the figure in Daniel 7 to the *maskilim* in Daniel 11-12. To deal with this question, I would like to investigate the allusion in the *maskilim* to the prophet Ezekiel. While the figure alludes to the human form of the Glory (Ezek 1:1-2:1), the *maskilim* alludes to the Glory’s ordination of Ezekiel (Ezek 2:3-3:21). I

¹⁶³ Hofius, “Der Septuaginta-Text von Daniel 7,13-14,” 76.

¹⁶⁴ The light image of the resurrected *maskilim* may well symbolize “a heavenly body” (Cyril of Jerusalem in K. Stevenson and M. Glerup ed., *Ezekiel, Daniel* [ACCSOT 13; Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2008], 306), or more specifically, “angelic host” (John J. Collins, “Apocalyptic Eschatology as the Transcendence of Death,” *CBQ* 36/1 [1974]:34; and, Andrew Chester, “*Resurrection and Transformation*,” in *Auferstehung-Resurrection: The Fourth Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium Resurrection, transfiguration and exaltation in Old Testament, ancient Judaism and early Christianity [Tübingen, September, 1999]* [ed. Friedrich Avemarie and Hermann Lichtenberger; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 2001], 61).

am concerned particularly with the manners in which the *maskilim*'s suffering and deification in Daniel 11-12 evoke Ezekiel's divinely commissioned duty as a watchman of God's people (Ezek 3:16-21). The Glory's depiction of Ezekiel's prophetic office provides foundational background against which the reader can have a deeper understanding of the *maskilim*'s self-sacrificial ministry and the subsequent reward from God.

In Ezekiel, Ezekiel's encounter with the Glory of YHWH leads to the Glory's speech to Ezekiel (Ezek 1:1-3:15). The Glory perceives the people of Israel to be "the nation of rebels that rebelled me" (Ezek 2:3). They are unwilling to listen to the words of the Glory's messenger. The Glory compares the Jewish rebels to foreign nations who would listen to Ezekiel's message (Ezek 3:6). But the Glory repeatedly commands Ezekiel to proclaim the Glory's words regardless of their response. Who will hear and who will refuse to hear Ezekiel's oracle? We are led to learn more about both opposite reactions of God's people to Ezekiel in Ezek 3:16-21. There the Glory appoints Ezekiel as a sentinel of the Israelite exiles in Babylon, while preparing the prophet for two different audiences: "the doomed wicked" and "the backsliding righteous."¹⁶⁵ These two multitudes respond to the Glory's spokesman either obediently or rebelliously.

As for the wicked, Ezekiel is ordered to warn them so that they might leave their wicked way and escape from impending death (Ezek 3:18). Conversely, God's order implies that some of the wicked would welcome Ezekiel's warning and shift their mind.¹⁶⁶ However, the Glory informs Ezekiel of an entirely different response from Israel. As Ezekiel warns the wicked in

¹⁶⁵ For these terms, see Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 22; New York: Doubleday, 1983), 87.

¹⁶⁶ Pace Ralph W. Klein, *Ezekiel: The Prophet and His Message* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 29, who states that "the watchman paragraph in chapter 3 does not envisage possible change among the wicked." Cf. Ezek 33:19, "when the wicked turns from his wickedness and practices justice and righteousness, he will live by them."

God's words, it is possible that some of them never turn from their wicked way and hence die for their iniquity (Ezek 3:19a). The same point is made as God endows Ezekiel with a task for the backsliding righteous. When Ezekiel warns the righteous not to sin, the fate of the righteous depends on their clinging to the covenantal duty. If the formerly righteous follow Ezekiel's warning and repent, then they will live (Ezek 3:21). It is equally plausible, however, that the righteous keep turning away from their righteousness and committing iniquity. Then they will certainly die (Ezek 3:20).

Ezekiel's Jewish audience emerging from the Glory's commission of Ezekiel is the one that lacks confidence in prophetic oracle and its God as well. Thus Ezekiel's ministry is characteristic of collapse of the covenantal relationship between God and God's people. Block's comment on God's portrayal of God's people as "the nation of rebels that rebelled me" captures the point (Ezek 2:3):

"Any Israelite would have recognized a double reference to their covenant God. However, from the very beginning one senses that the covenant in jeopardy. Yahweh refrains from using his covenant name, and he refuses to refer to Israel 'my people' ... Israel as a *gôy* corresponds with general OT usage ... it tends to carry a pejorative sense, highlighting Israel's indistinguishability from other nations, and Yahweh's rejection of Israel ... Israel is a nation in revolt .. It expresses Israel's response to their suzerain, Yahweh ... the bulk of ancient suzerainty treaties tended to consist of covenant stipulations ... both *mārad* and *pāša'* are followed by *bî*, *against me*, which highlights the fact that in this case the revolt is against Yahweh."¹⁶⁷

The prevalent mood of rebellion among God's people is likely to reflect their frustration that was occasioned by the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem at the time of "King Jehoiachin" (Ezek 1:2). The book of Ezekiel begins with Jehoiachin's exile to Babylon, thereby prompting the reader to memorize the poignant moment of Israel's history. King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon

¹⁶⁷ Block, *The Book of Ezekiel*, 117-119.

profanes the Jerusalem temple by looting “the valuables of the temple” and “cutting in pieces all the golden vessels” (2 Kgs 24:13). Probably some Israelites were vexed with the shameful defeat. For them, God fails to defend God’s own house, let alone God’s people.¹⁶⁸

It is this particular context of the precursor text in Ezekiel that provides the background for the portraiture of the Jewish community in the subsequent text in Daniel. Evoking the situation of the Jewish deportees in late sixth century B.C.E. Babylon, the author of Daniel 11 delineates a similar religious catastrophe in the midst of the Jewish returnees in second century B.C.E. Palestine. The motif of a foreign army’s violation of God’s temple in the source text of Ezekiel is taken up in the target text of Daniel 11. The northern king’s armed forces trample down the sanctuary, abolish the daily burnt offering, and set up the abomination that makes desolate (Dan 11:31). As with Jewish exiles in Ezekiel, the covenantal relation between God and Israel is gravely threatened in Daniel. The situation is articulated in two starkly incompatible actions in terms of fidelity to the covenant. Some Jews “forsake” and “act against” the covenant (Dan 11:30, 32a). By contrast, some other Jews choose to “stand firm” and “take action,” while faithful to the covenant (Dan 11:32b). These two multitudes among the Palestinian Jews in Daniel are reminiscent of Ezekiel’s two different audiences among the Babylonian Jews.

The image of Ezekiel serves as an important source of the image of the *maskilim*. The divinely ordained sentinel of God’s people must stay awake so as to keep them secure from upcoming death. Indeed, the reason Ezekiel announces God’s sentence of death either to the doomed wicked or to the backsliding righteous is that they will be able to repent and preserve their life. This is clear from God’s message that Ezekiel conveys to the wicked: “I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from their ways and live; turn back,

¹⁶⁸ Walter Brueggemann, *1 & 2 Kings* (SHBC 8; Macon: Smyth & Helwys Publishing, 2000), 576.

turn back from your evil ways; for why will you die, O house of Israel?” (Ezek 33:11). In this regard, the sentinel plays a righteous teacher that God sends to God’s people for salvation.¹⁶⁹

Much like the sentinel’s duty, the *maskilim* teach God’s people, while vehemently inspiring them to be loyal to the “holy covenant” with God (Dan 11:28, 30).¹⁷⁰ Recalling the two opposite attitudes of God’s people to Ezekiel, some follow the leadership of the *maskilim*, but some reject it. These two Jewish groups are designated in common by the term, “many”¹⁷¹:

The *maskilim* among the people shall give understanding to many (רַבִּים)
yet they will fall by sword and by flame
by captivity and by plunder for some days
When they stumble, they shall receive a little help
but many (רַבִּים) shall join them through intrigues. (Dan 11:33-34)

Here the author of Daniel 11 transforms Ezekiel’s prophetic duty for the righteous and the wicked into the *maskilim*’s teaching activity for two different groups commonly named “many.” Ezekiel’s duty as a responsible sentinel of the Jewish exiles is imprinted on the *maskilim*’s activity as a devotional teacher of the Jewish remnant. Especially, the *maskilim*’s leadership is highlighted when the righteous “many” opt for martyrdom to keep their fidelity to the covenant.

¹⁶⁹ It is instructive to notice that Targum to Ezekiel renders watchman (צִפְּהָ) as teacher (מְלִיף) (Cohen, *Mikra’ot Gedolot ‘Haketer*,’ 18). Perhaps, the Targumist understands Ezekiel as a teacher who knows the end time—a similar image of the *maskilim* in Daniel 11. In Targum to Ezekiel, therefore, the “scroll” that God makes Ezekiel swallow is construed to be an apocalypse: “that which was from the beginning and that which is destined to be in the end” (מָה דְּהָוָה מִן שִׁירֵיָּוָה וּמָה דְּעָתִיד לְמַהֲוֵי בְּסוֹפָא) See Cohen, *Mikra’ot Gedolot ‘Haketer*,’ 14; and, Samson H. Levey, *The Targum of Ezekiel: Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus and Notes* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1987), 24.

¹⁷⁰ The idea of the holy covenant in Daniel 11 may be representative not only of the Sinaitic covenant but also of the comprehensive system of the Jewish traditional piety, which is threatened by Antiochus IV Epiphanes’ radical policy of the Hellenization of the remnant Israelites. For the diverse suggestions about the “holy covenant” in the book of Daniel, see A. van der Kooij, “The Concept of Covenant (*Berît*) in the Book of Daniel,” in *The Book of Daniel: In the Light of New Findings* (ed. A.S. van der Woude; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 495-501.

¹⁷¹ Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 8, points out that “In Hebrew, רַבִּים, ‘a multitude,’ designates a precise sociological reality.” For the Qumranic use of the term, see Charlotte Hempel, “*Maskil(im)* and Rabbim: From Daniel to Qumran,” in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (ed. Charlotte Hempel and Judith M. Lieu; Brill: Leiden, 2006), 134-156.

These faithful “many” are taught by their wise leaders and, together with them, undergo Antiochus IV’s cruel torment such as “sword,” “flame,” “captivity,” and “plunder” (Dan 11:33).¹⁷² These *maskilim*-affiliated Israelites called “many” in Dan 11:33 are in principle identical with the “many” that the *maskilim* make righteous in Dan 12:3. Indeed, the *maskilim* and the righteous “many” cooperate in resisting Antiochus IV. In Daniel 8 the angel Gabriel foretells that the righteous Israelites will suffer from the atrocities of Antiochus IV: “a king of bold countenance” will “destroy the holy people” called “many” (Dan 8:24-25).¹⁷³ In response, the “understanding” that the *maskilim* (מְשֻׁכְּלִים) impart to the righteous “many” in affliction functions as a powerful counter-force against the deceptive “shrewdness” (שֹׁכֵל) through which Antiochus IV seeks to prosper (Dan 8:25; 11:33).

The other group, designated by the same term “many” in Dan 11: 34, is modeled on the wicked that keep betraying the covenant regardless of Ezekiel’s warning. Accordingly, this group’s attitude to the holy covenant is entirely different from that of the faithful “many” in Dan 11:33. Indeed, these two groups are poles apart ideologically. Unlike the righteous “many,” the wicked “many” recognize Antiochus IV’s leadership rather than the *maskilim*’s leadership. Admittedly, Dan 11:34 is clouded with much ambiguity. Whether “a little help” refers to the Maccabees still remains controversial.¹⁷⁴ What is meant in v. 34a may be that, in their stumbling,

¹⁷² Redditt, *Daniel*, 184.

¹⁷³ The term “many” refers to “the holy people” as the righteous people of God. Notice that Gabriel, depicting the same brutal act of Antiochus IV, repeats the view that “He destroys ... the holy people ... and he destroys many” (Dan 8:24, 25).

¹⁷⁴ For a survey, see Gordon Zerbe, “‘Pacifism’ and ‘Passive Resistance’ in Apocalyptic Writings: A Critical Evaluation,” in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (JSPSup 14; ed. J.H. Charlesworth and C.A. Evans; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic press, 1993), 67-69.

the *maskilim* receive some “little real help, from any party.”¹⁷⁵ However, a more important matter remains. In v. 34b one must further ask to whom the term “many” refers. Also, whom do the “many” join?¹⁷⁶ Whether the term “many” in v.34b refers to the *maskilim* or a certain different party is tantalizingly unclear.¹⁷⁷ I posit that the term “many” in Dan 11:34 represents not the wise teachers but rather the apostate Israelites who reject them. The plural pronoun “them,” whom these renegades join, refers to “forces” (Dan 11:31, 34). These wicked “many” band together with Antiochus IV when his forces defile the Jerusalem temple (Dan 11:31).

With this in mind, we see that the author of Daniel 11 transforms the character of the Jewish renegades in Ezekiel 2-3. Here the author alludes to some truths that Ezekiel presents to, hopefully, remake them. In Ezekiel the Israelites rebel against God on account of their “stubborn heart” (קָשִׁי חֲזָקִי-לֵב) (Ezek 2:4; 3:7). The doomed wicked stick to their apostasy (Ezek 3:19). The righteous who have done righteous deeds turn away from their piety (Ezek 3:20). Perhaps these Jews in the Babylonian diaspora were misled by the false prophets that proclaimed “peace,

¹⁷⁵ Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 386. Earlier, Collins suggests the “little help” to be “the few who shared the viewpoint of the *maskilim*” (Collins, *Daniel* [1984], 101).

¹⁷⁶ There have been three important suggestions about the identity of “many” in v. 34b: Hasidim, *maskilim*, and unfaithful leaders. (1) “Hasidim”: Victor Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jew* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959), p. 477, sees in v. 34b that people join the Hasidim. Similarly, Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 230; (2) “*maskilim*”: Ginsberg, “The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant,” 403, holds that some Jewish loyalists enlightened by the *maskilim* join the *maskilim*, stating that “... *Maskilim* ... became Enlighteners and instructed the Many (Dan xi 33a) and many of the Many joined them (xi 34b).” Similarly, John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (HSM 16; Missoula: Scholars press, 1977), 207; and Seow, *Daniel*, 180-182. The “many,” according to Seow, while being distinguished from “those loyalists who show strength and take action” in v. 32, refer to “the would-be martyrs” (here, p. 182); (3) “unfaithful leaders”: Rainer Albertz, “The Social Setting of the Aramaic and Hebrew Book of Daniel,” in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, vol. 1 (ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint; Leiden: Brill 2001), 194, claims that the “many” refer to some “false apocalyptic teachers” who “were not very interested in keeping the people from the apostasy of Hellenism, but acting rather in their own dubious or purely military interests.” Insofar as the relation of Epiphanes to the “many” is unconsidered, none of those views is tenable enough. Crucial is that the “many” in 11:34 stands in stark contrast to the other faithful “many” in 11:33. The one group following the *maskilim* chooses the ancestral faith; the other group motivated by Epiphanes chooses apostasy.

¹⁷⁷ Zerbe, “‘Pacifism’ and ‘Passive Resistance,’” 67 n.6, rightly points out this ambiguity.

peace” as there was no peace.¹⁷⁸ Unlike the traitors of covenant in Ezekiel, however, it is not due to their own obstinacy or false prophecy but due to the foreign king’s political seduction that God’s people desert their covenantal relation with their heavenly king in Daniel 11. In other words, the wicked in Daniel 11 are revealed as those who seek political benefit from Antiochus IV.¹⁷⁹ They have a keen eye for a chance to promote themselves at the time of crisis for all. Like peoples of other countries that Antiochus IV dominates, these Jewish opportunists desire honor, wealth, and political authority, all of which the monarch offers only to those who “acknowledge” him (Dan 11:39).¹⁸⁰ Thus some Israelite people’s betrayal of the holy covenant results from their evil aspiration for Antiochus IV’s special attention (Dan 11:30). To make matters worse, the Syrian royal wheedler takes advantage of their ambition to control the Judean society. This is why the wicked “many” in Dan 11:34 are portrayed as allying themselves with Antiochus IV. Both the Syrian tyrant and the Jewish apostates show themselves antagonistic against the holy covenant. Following their foreign leader who “enrages at the holy covenant,” the unfaithful multitude “act wickedly against the covenant” (Dan 11:30, 32a).¹⁸¹ Indeed, these Antiochus-affiliated “many” are a treacherous group that makes use of intrigues” (חֲלָקִים),¹⁸² a rare term that appears only twice in Daniel. Other than here, the *dis legomenon* in Daniel occurs to

¹⁷⁸ Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1990), 26. On these prophets, see Jeremiah 28-29. In Jeremiah’s epistle to Ezekiel’s audience in exile to Babylon, God warns the audience against the false prophets, who “prophesy falsely to you in my name. I have not sent them” (Jer 29:9).

¹⁷⁹ Understandably, Daniel shifts the face of rebels from Israel to Antiochus IV. Thus Ezekiel’s language used for the wicked, “impudent face” (קָשִׁי פָּנִים), is reverberated with Daniel’s language used for Antiochus IV’s bold face (עֲזִי-פָּנִים) (Ezek 2:4; Dan 8:23).

¹⁸⁰ In this sense, the “many” in Dan 11:34 may include some Jewish aristocrat politicians but should not be confined to some particular upper class such as priestly Zadokites. The term “many” refers in principle to the social situation of the common Israelites in a broader sense.

¹⁸¹ The “many” who complied with Antiochus in Daniel is termed “perverse/apostate generation” in the Apocalypse Weeks (*1 En.* 93:9). See Portier-Young, *Apocalypse against Empire*, 319.

¹⁸² Plural of חֲלָקִים that occurs four times in the Hebrew Bible. In Ps 34:6 and Jer 23:12 the term refers to slippery places, and in Dan 11:21, 34, intrigues.

characterize Antiochus IV. Thus just as Antiochus IV seizes the kingdom “through intrigues,” so do the disloyal “many” join the armed “forces from him” “through intrigues” (Dan 11:21, 31, 34). This verbal link serves to suggest not only the shared nature of the wicked many and the northern king but also a political coalition between them. The dark connection between both parties is so important that the angel Gabriel forecasts their cooperation in committing sacrilege to the sanctuary of the Jerusalem temple. Dubbed “the devastator” (שָׁמַד), Antiochus IV is painted as making a “firm covenant,” declares Gabriel, with these apostate “many” (Dan 9:27).

That Daniel modifies Ezekiel’s two disparate audiences is substantially reinforced when their two different fates in accordance with their different relationship with the covenant in Ezekiel finds close analogy in Daniel. In the source text both the unrepentant wicked and the formerly righteous respond to the warning from God’s sentinel. They either “(surely) live” or “die in their iniquity/sin” (Ezek 3:18, 19, 20, 21). In particular, “the wicked” do not turn from their “wickedness” or their “wicked” way in refusal of Ezekiel’s urgent warning (Ezek 3:19). The image of the stubborn wicked is transferred to the target text, too. Thus “the wicked” continue to “act wickedly” and none of them understands, presumably because they persistently dismiss the *maskilim*, the giver of “understanding” (Dan 11:33; 12:10). More interestingly, the author of Daniel eschatologizes the prophetic concept of death. It is in this world that Ezekiel’s God announces death to the wicked. In Daniel the divine judgment of the wicked is deferred to the next world. As a result we hear about the death of the wicked beyond this world. The angel announces that the wicked will awake from their death. While alive, these covenant-deserters flourished more than the martyrs for covenant. Hence, it behooves them to be revived for “everlasting contempt” even after death (Dan 12:2). The connotation of the divine justice in Ezekiel, therefore, is eschatologized in Daniel, where God judges the wicked even in post-

mortem arena. Resurrection comes with an “eschatological inversion,” in which “God intervenes to make the downtrodden and the triumphant change places, in the process vindicating his own honor and sovereignty.”¹⁸³

The divine message for the life of the righteous in Daniel takes on equally strong eschatological overtones. To “the righteous” who do not sin through taking Ezekiel’s warning, God promises that they “shall surely live” (Ezek 3:21). In Daniel, however, the righteous people dubbed “many” who keep the covenant do not find fulfillment of the divine promise. They are helplessly killed by brutal violence that Antiochus IV inflicts (Dan 11:33). The covenant-advocates’ undeserved fate in Daniel becomes even more pronounced when they experience what God proclaims to be punishment on the backsliding righteous in Ezekiel. To the formerly righteous people in Ezekiel who forsake their righteousness and turn to iniquity, God declares: “I will lay a stumbling block (מִכְשׁוֹל) before them, they shall die for their sin” (Ezek 3:20a).¹⁸⁴ This divine gloomy foreboding, however, seems to find a wrong target in the turbulent period of Judea under Seleucid dynasty. In Daniel 11 the covenant-betrayers do not die for their sin; it is only the covenant-adherents who are killed without sin. This absurd reality is stressed as it is poignantly repeated that the *maskilim* and their disciples “stumble” (כָּשַׁל) under the imperial rule of Antiochus IV (Dan 11:33-35). The foreign monarch and his foreign troops “profane” (חִלְלֵנוּ) God’s “sanctuary” (Dan 11:31). In response, the righteous “who know their God” stand firm and take action, namely, martyrdom (Dan 11:32).¹⁸⁵ By contrast, the wicked “who

¹⁸³ Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel*, 191.

¹⁸⁴ For some syntactical issues and ancient and medieval interpretations, see Annette Bockler, “Ist Gott Schuldig, wenn ein gerechter Stolpert? Zur Exegese von Ez iii 20,” *VT* 48/4 (1998):437-452.

¹⁸⁵ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse against Empire*, 256- 258. Martyrdom as Jewish non-violence resistance against Antiochus IV’s imperial program is also attested to in the heart-rending story of the martyred mother and her seven sons in 2 Maccabees 7.

recognize Antiochus IV”¹⁸⁶ prosper, let alone die (Dan 11:39). Antiochus IV seduces with intrigue these corruptible Jews (Dan 11:30, 32). They treat with contempt their covenant Lord, seeking instead to be appointed by the royal seducer as “rulers” (Dan 11:39). Probably, these Jewish renegades bribe Antiochus IV with “silver” (כֶּסֶף) and “gold” (זָהָב), the monarch’s favorites (Dan 11:38, 39). The author’s description of the righteous Israelites as stumbling by Antiochus IV’s imperial hegemony may well provide a poignant flashback to a prophetic text in Ezekiel. There God declares that when “foreigners” enter and “profane” (חֲלָלוּ) God’s “sanctuary”¹⁸⁷ in the Jerusalem temple (Ezek 7:21-22), the “silver” (כֶּסֶף) and “gold” (זָהָב) with which the covenant-betrayers fill their intestines will become their “stumbling block” (מִכְשׁוֹל) (Ezek 7:19).¹⁸⁸

In painting the mournful reality of God’s people under Antiochus IV, does the author mean that God forgot God’s promise to the righteous in Ezekiel? The answer is negative. The author interprets the divine promise to the righteous to be deferred “until the divine wrath is completed” (Dan 11:36). Like the divine judgment of traitors of the covenant, the divine promise to the righteous comes true beyond this world. To firmly endorse the divine vindication of the covenant martyrs, the author modifies another prophetic idea in Ezekiel. In Ezekiel God declares that the “righteous deeds” that the backsliding righteous have done shall not be remembered (Ezek 3:20; cf. 18:24; 33:13). In Daniel the deeds of those who remain steadfast in their determination to preserve their loyalty to the covenant are never cancelled by their death. Quite

¹⁸⁶ Heb. אֲשֶׁר יִכִּיר (those how recognize). The object of the verb, the northern king, is clear from the context.

¹⁸⁷ Here Heb. עֲפֹנִי (my secret place) is translated as בֵּית־שְׁכִינָתִי (the house of my Shekinah). (Cohen, *Mikra’ot Gedolot ‘Haketer*, 38). The context of Tg. Ezek 17:21-22 may refer to the Roman sacking of the Temple (Levey, *The Targum of Ezekiel*, 35).

¹⁸⁸ Goldingay, *Daniel*, 284, sees a connection between Daniel 11 and Ezek 7:19-27, but not connection between Daniel 11 and Ezek 3:16-21.

to the contrary, God, remembering the martyrs' righteous deeds, fully compensates for their undeserved death. Thus God awakes the loyal martyrs to "everlasting life," yet the fickle opportunists to "everlasting contempt" (Dan 12:2). In so doing, God radically reverses the fortunes of the two kinds of people of God (Dan 12:2).

What of the *maskilim*'s ultimate fate? In the influencing text in Ezekiel, the prophet's commission is epitomized in his act of *warning*.¹⁸⁹ Thus, appointing Ezekiel to be a sentinel of God's people, God identifies the prophet as one who "warns (זָהַר) them from me" (Ezek 3:17). In Ezekiel the term "warn" formulates a leitmotif that defines precisely Ezekiel's task.¹⁹⁰ Especially, the leitmotif conveys the idea that Ezekiel's duty is inextricably bound with the prophet's life. Thus God says that Ezekiel saves himself through fulfilling his duty. Regardless of the rebellion of the wicked, the prophet "delivers" his life after he "warns" the doomed wicked (Ezek 3:19b). Similarly, Ezekiel is allowed to save his life by his act of warning the backsliding righteous (Ezek 3:21). Ezekiel's life relies on Ezekiel's unswerving announcement of God's warning to God's people who vacillate between loyalty to and betrayal of the holy covenant. The context of Ezekiel's vocation suggests that Ezekiel is commanded to turn God's people back to their covenantal duty. God foresees that they are so rebellious that they will antagonize the God-sent sentinel (Ezek 3:7-9a; cf. 2:3-6). Nevertheless, God expects that some rebels will surely return to God through the obedience of God's fearless sentinel. Thus God speaks of a possibility that, when the sentinel will "warn" the doomed wicked, they will return to

¹⁸⁹ Admittedly, Ezek 3:16-21 virtually recur in Ezek 33:7-9. I regard the former as the evoked text of allusion in the *maskilim* text in Daniel 11-12, considering the fact that the former is set nearer another evoked text Ezekiel 1 than the latter. The source text is identified with more certainty as it arranges marked elements within close proximity to one another.

¹⁹⁰ This motif is found in Ezekiel 3 (18 [×2], 19-20, 21[×2]) and Ezekiel 33 (3, 4, 5[×2], 6-9).

the way of life (Ezek 3:18) and a possibility that, when the sentinel will “warn” the backsliding righteous, they will cease committing sin and “will surely live” (Ezek 3:21).

In the influenced text in Daniel, the depiction of the *maskilim* as teacher in the end of time appropriates the depiction of Ezekiel as sentinel.¹⁹¹ Ezekiel’s audience “either obeys or refuses to obey”¹⁹² the warning that Ezekiel proclaims (Ezek 3:11; cf. 2:5, 7; 3:27). As I argued above, the *maskilim*’s audience either follows or rejects the understanding that the *maskilim* offers (Dan 11:33-34). Both Ezekiel and the *maskilim* work to prevent God’s people from repudiating the holy covenant. However, the *maskilim*’s ministry is disclosed to exceed in many points Ezekiel’s ministry. The prophet preserves his life even if his audience sticks to betrayal of the covenant (Ezek 3:19). Even if Ezekiel makes the backsliders repent, the best result for them is only preservation of their life (Ezek 3:21). In Daniel, by contrast, the *maskilim* are not concerned with their own life. They sacrifice life to keep God’s people loyal to the covenant. Their death is of a quite vicarious nature as “they stumble in order to refine, purge, and purify” the covenant-keepers (Dan 11:35).¹⁹³ This means that what the *maskilim*’s sacrifice brings to them is not merely bodily survival but rather spiritual maturity. God instructs Ezekiel not to fear in doing his duty (Ezek 2:6; 3:9). The *maskilim*, in whom the fearless spirit of the sentinel of God’s people is incarnated, are declared in Dan 12:3:

¹⁹¹ Hans Kosmala, “Maškîl,” *JANESCU* 5 (1973):239-240, nicely states that the *maskilim* are “endowed with deep insight and understanding of God’s acts, especially of the coming mysterious happening until the approaching of the end .. they will not sit still but become *maškîlê ‘ām* who will enlighten the *rabbîm* led astray by the *maršî ‘ê b’rît*. They will suffer hardship and death.”

¹⁹² Heb. אִם-יִשְׁמְעוּ אִם-יִדָּלוּ (whether they obey or refuse).

¹⁹³ In this regard, the *maskilim* allude to the Suffering Servant in Isaiah 53. See Ginsberg, “The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant,” 402-403; Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 493; Lester, “Daniel Evokes Isaiah,” 142-148; Portier-Young, *Apocalypse against Empire*, 272-275; and, Henze, “The Use of Scripture in the Book of Daniel,” 298. Dan 12:10, where “many” purify, cleanse, refine *themselves*, does not need to militate the vicarious suffering of the *maskilim*. See Portier-Young, *Apocalypse against Empire*, 257-258.

וְהַמְשִׁכִּים יִזְהָרוּ כְּזֹהַר הַרְקִיעַ
וּמַצְדִּיקֵי הָרַבִּים כְּכֹכְבִּים לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד

And the *maskilim* will shine like the shining of the sky
And those who make the many righteous, like the stars forever and ever

The idea of the first half of the verse is that God compensates for the *maskilim*'s excellent piety by elevating the *maskilim* as a brilliant celestial being. More important, the *maskilim*'s eschatological elevation as God's reward for their ministry draws on Ezekiel's vocation as dutiful watchman. In the first half of the verse the author designs the phrase "יִזְהָרוּ כְּזֹהַר" as a marker. The verb *זהר* is a *hapax legomenon* that means "shine" (Dan 12:3a). The noun "זֹהַר" (shining) is a *dis legomenon*.¹⁹⁴ The author's intent to adopt these two extremely rarely used cognates resides not only in depicting the glorified state of the *maskilim*. The author shapes *זהר* (shine) as a sign, in which the reader readily recognizes its homonym *זהר* (warn) as a marked that plays the word-motif in the evoked text in Ezekiel.¹⁹⁵ The author's masterful linking between *זֹהַר/זהר* (shine/shining) and *זהר* (warn), while urging the reader to activate the context of the evoked text in Ezekiel, helps the reader understand the blissful glorification of the *maskilim* in terms of the implication revolving the word motif in Ezek 3:16-21.¹⁹⁶ Put another

¹⁹⁴ In Ezek 8:2 the term expresses the "brightness" of the Glory of YHWH that appears in Ezekiel 1, thereby obtaining an implication of the divine attribute. The same word in Dan 12:3, therefore, serves to express the *maskilim*'s *divinized* status, recalling the divine status of the figure like a son of man in the throne-hall in Daniel 7.

¹⁹⁵ On this sort of homonym functioning as a strong sign of allusion, see Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Allusion," 41-42. *זהר* (warn) is used 19 times in the Hebrew Bible, and 15 times only in Ezekiel 3 and 33, where *זהר* plays a word-motif to depict Ezekiel's prophetic office (Ezek 3:18-21; 33:3-9). The dominant use of the verb in Ezekiel may well enhance the likelihood in which the informed reader connects the *maskilim* text in Dan 12:2 and the Ezekiel's prophetic duty. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life*, 41 n.85, remarks the double-entendre of *זהר* in Dan 12:3, introducing the view of Frank M. Cross that the meaning of the word "caution" or "warn" is especially fitting to the role of the *maskilim* as a religious teacher. However, neither Nickelsburg nor Cross suggests that the link between *זהר* (warn) in Ezekiel and *זהר* (shine) in Daniel. Nickelsburg mentions Sir 24:27, 32.

¹⁹⁶ The link is understandable. On the one hand, the connotation "shine" implies also "instruct," "enlighten," "admonish"—all are consonant with the duty of the *maskilim* as righteous teacher. On the other, the connotation of "warn" includes also "teach" and "instruct" as attestable in Ex 18:20 and 2 Chr 19:10. On this, see Horacio Simian-Yofre, "Wächter, Lehrer oder Interpret?: Zum theologischen Hintergrund von Ez 33, 7-9," in *Künder des Wortes : Beiträge zur Theologie der Propheten* (ed. Lothar

way, subtly designing the link between these semantically distinct yet phonetically identical words to effectively enhance the reader's sense of the existence of allusion, the author suggests that the meaning of the statement "the *maskilim* shall *shine* like the *shining* of the sky" should flow from Ezekiel's prophetic duty to *warn* in Ezek 3:17-21.¹⁹⁷

The link via paronomasia between Daniel and Ezekiel is further bolstered by another contiguous allusion that correlates the *maskilim* and the prophet. In the second half of the verse the *maskilim* that shines (זֹהַר) are reintroduced in terms of their ministry. They are "ones that make the many righteous" (מַצְדִּיקֵי הָרַבִּים) (Dan 12:3b). Here "the many" are presented as ones that unswervingly follow the *maskilim*'s teaching (Dan 11:33; cf. 12:10). The *maskilim* make them *keep* their righteousness.¹⁹⁸ The *maskilim*'s exaltation resulting from their service for God's people is evocative of Ezekiel's ministry. Ezekiel "warns (זֹהַר) the righteous (צַדִּיק)"¹⁹⁹ that the "righteous (צַדִּיק) should not sin, and they do not sin" (Ezek 3:21). Foreshadowing the *maskilim*'s role for the many, Ezekiel makes these righteous Israelites steadfastly remain righteous. Taken that way, the author's intention is to envision the *maskilim* as an incarnation of Ezekiel's duty to *warn* God's people. That the author designed the leitmotif of Ezekiel's ministry

Ruppert et al.; Würzburg: Echter Verlag GmbH, 1982), 151-162 (esp. p. 161); and, Block, *The Book of Ezekiel*, 139.

¹⁹⁷ The connotation that the *maskilim* make many Israelites righteous in Dan 12:3 alludes back to the ministry of the Suffering Servant in Isaiah 53. Thus the allusion in the *maskilim* to the prophet Ezekiel may well be traced all the way back to Isaiah. However, the idea of "*shining maskilim*" itself is rooted not in Isaiah but Ezekiel. To be sure, the Suffering Servant is portrayed as exalted (Isa 52:13). Nevertheless, the Servant's elevation is without an image of light.

¹⁹⁸ Thus one should not translate "מַצְדִּיקֵי הָרַבִּים" as "ones that *bring* the many to the righteousness." In Dan 12:3 "the many" indicates not those that *return* from their wicked ways to God but rather those who steadfastly keep their righteous ways.

¹⁹⁹ Heb. הִזְהַרְתָּ צַדִּיק (You warn him, the righteous).

to be evoked in the *maskilim*'s eschatological transformation may well imply that Ezekiel served as a ministerial "paradigm" for the *maskilim* to whom the author belonged.²⁰⁰

E. The Exegetical Stream of Allusion: From the Enthroned Glory to the Danielic Son of Man to Christ in Revelation

In Revelation John paints Jesus in a way that evokes Daniel's visionary experience of God.

Images of two figures in Daniel 7—"one like a son of man" and the "Ancient One"—are converged in John's Christ. When Jesus is portrayed as "coming with the clouds," he takes on the image of the magnificent figure in Daniel (Rev 1:7; Dan 7:13).²⁰¹ Only a bit later, as the luminous contours of the "one like a son of man" are expressed in language that Daniel employs to portray the Ancient One, Jesus is envisaged as the Ancient One.²⁰² Daniel's depiction, "his clothing was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool" (Dan 7:9), is explicitly recycled in John's depiction of Christophany: "I saw ... one like a son of man who is clothed in a robe²⁰³ ... His head and his hair were white, like white wool, like snow" (Rev 1:12-14a).²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰ God shows Ezekiel to be a paragon for the Israelites: "Ezekiel shall be a paradigm (מוֹפֵת) to you; according to all that he had done you will do" (Ezek 24:24). Ezekiel's audience may well have functioned as "an anti-paradigm" for the *maskilim*'s faithful audience in Daniel 11-12. My translation of מוֹפֵת as "paradigm" is indebted to Sheldon H. Blank, "The Prophet as Paradigm," in *Essays in Old Testament Ethics* (J. Philip Hyatt, *In Memoriam*) (ed. James L. Crenshaw and John T. Willis; New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1974), 111-130 (here, p. 124). See also, Thomas Renz, *The Rhetorical Function of the Book of Ezekiel* (VTSup 76; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 140-141.

²⁰¹ In Rev 1:7 Jesus is invoked as the "son of man" in Daniel, without having the phrase. This is attested to in other NT literature such as *Did.* 16:8, Justin's *1 Apol.* 52.3, and *Dial.* 14.8; 120.4. See Frederick H. Borsch, *Son of Man in Myth and History* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1967), 48; and, Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, 54.

²⁰² Maurice Casey, *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7* (London: SPCK, 1979) 144-150, disputes literary dependence of Rev 1:13 on Dan 7:13. For a critique of Casey, see Francis J. Moloney, "The End of the Son of Man?" *DR* 98/333(1980): 280-290; and, Charles A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedent and Early Evidence* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 248, who argues the presence of echoes in Rev 1:13 from Dan 7:13 and Ezek 1:26.

²⁰³ Here Christ's robe evokes "raiment" of the enthroned God, which implies the radiant splendor of the glorious form of God. For example, in the Hekhalot literature God's body is termed as "beauty (yofi)," "cloak (*haluq*)," or "garment (*levushin*)" See Wolfson, *Through a Speculum that Shine*, 85-108.

Unlike Daniel, John sees no distinction between the figure and the enthroned deity. As a result, both Danielic figures coalesce into the appearance of Jesus.

How do we explain John's use of Daniel 7? It has been widely recognized that it is not Aramaic Daniel but Old Greek Daniel that underlies the synthetic divine image of Jesus in Revelation. In OG Dan 7:13 the figure "like a son of man" is deemed the Ancient One.²⁰⁵ This means that OG Dan 7:13 conveys the copyist's profound theology that evidences a Jewish concept of a pre-existent Messiah.²⁰⁶ However, there is also abundance of evidence that Revelation draws upon Aramaic Daniel to explain Jesus as Messiah. In this section I will investigate the way in which Daniel's vision of theophany influences John's Christology in Revelation. I will emphasize that Christ represents two forms of the divine manifestation in Daniel 7, and that theme of transformation dominant in OG Daniel 4 and 7 was formative in John's understanding of Christ's divinity. In doing so, I will pay exegetical attention to John's

²⁰⁴ OG Dan 7:9 reads: the Ancient One sat "taking a garment like snow and the hair of his head is like white wool (ἔχων περιβολὴν ὥσει χιόνα καὶ τὸ τρίχωμα τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὥσει ἔριον λευκόν." Another strong parallel of the One like a son of man in Rev 1:13-15 comes from OG Dan 10:6. Both texts speak in common of "eyes like a flame/lamps of fire" and "voice like the sound of many waters/multitude" (Beal, *The Use of Daniel*, 158-163).

²⁰⁵ There has been a view that Rev 1:14 merely reflects a scribal mistake that a Jewish copyist of OG Daniel made. E.g., Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 304; Delcor, "Les sources du chapitre VII de Daniel," 304; Casey, *Son of Man*, 144-150; Sharon Pace Jeanson, *The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 7-12*, (CBQMS 19; Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1988), 96-99; Adela Yarbro Collins, "The 'Son of Man' Tradition and the Book of Revelation," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 555; and, Hofius, "Der Septuaginta-Text von Daniel 7:13-14," 79-90.

²⁰⁶ Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (Berlin: Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, 1903), 250, finds in OG Dan 7:13 "traces" of the idea of a preexistent Messiah. See also F.F. Bruce, "The Oldest Greek Version of Daniel," in *Instruction and Interpretation: Studies in Hebrew Language, Palestinian Archaeology and Biblical Exegesis* (OTS 20; ed. H.A. Brongers; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 22-40; Kim, "The 'Son of Man' as the Son of God," 22-25; Stuckenbruck, "One like a Son of Man as the Ancient of Days," 268-276; and, Benjamin E. Reynolds, "The 'One Like a Son of Man' according to the Old Greek of Daniel 7,13-14," *Biblica* 89/1 (2008): 70-80.

depiction of the Lamb, who moves around the throne hall. Finally, I will suggest two potential factors, without which Christology in Revelation cannot be appreciated in full.

1. Christ in the Heavenly Throne-Room

Let me begin with John's view of Jesus as the Ancient One. In Revelation 1, Jesus is called the son of man, who takes on the image of the Ancient One in Daniel 7. John's interpretation of the son of man as the Ancient One is strengthened in John's vision of the heavenly throne-hall in Revelation 4-5. As in Daniel's vision in Daniel 7, John's vision makes ample use of Ezekiel's vision of God in Ezekiel 1.²⁰⁷ There Christ is introduced as the slain-yet-standing Lamb,²⁰⁸ showing himself to be gradually unified with "the One who is seated on the throne," which is John's periphrasis for the name of Ancient One in Daniel.²⁰⁹ The union occurs in a series of throne-visions, focusing on the Lamb's movement around/within God's throne. On the one hand, the Lamb appears and moves in the realm of the throne-hall while being assimilated into "the One who is seated on the throne." On the other hand, Christ moves away from his heavenly seat down to the plane of eschatological war on earth. In doing so, Christ re-envisions the Ancient

²⁰⁷ See G.K. Beale, "Revelation," in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture* (ed. D.A. Carson and H.G.M. Williamson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 320-325; Robert M. Royalty, *The Streets of Heaven: The Ideology of Wealth in the Apocalypse of John* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998), 50-51; and, Richard Bauckham, "Creation's Praise of God in the Book of Revelation," *BTB* 38 (2008): 55-63.

²⁰⁸ On the lamb figure as a Jewish messianic emblem, see Friedrich Spitta, *Streitfragen der Geschichte Jesu* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907), 172-224 (esp. 176, 194); and, Loren L. Johns, *The Lamb Christology of the Apocalypse of John: An Investigation into Its Origins and Rhetorical Force* (WUNT 167; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 76-107.

²⁰⁹ Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, 284-285, rightly points out that in Revelation the formula "the One who is seated on the throne" (καθήμεν- ἐπί- θρόν-) functions as a periphrasis for the Tetragrammaton (4:2, 9, 10; 5:1, 7, 13; 6:16; 7:15; 20:11; 21:5).

One, who comes to God's holy people persecuted by their terrible enemy (Dan 7:22). John's depiction of Christ continues the exegetical tradition that Daniel shapes in use of Ezekiel.

In Revelation 5 the Lamb's motion inside the throne-hall embarks on eschatological disaster. In Daniel's vision the Ancient One is depicted in a series of snap-shots of the deity.²¹⁰ The scenic details are arranged as Daniel captures the deity's contours and his throne, a stream of fire, a great host of angelic attendants, and finally, the books that were opened (Dan 7:9-10). The opened books imply a prelude to the trial process.²¹¹ But Daniel speaks no more about the books. Later, an angel gives Daniel a "book" that Daniel is commanded to seal up until the time of the end (Dan 12:4, 9). In Revelation the end of time has come and the forbidden book is opened. Thus John finds the sealed book in the right hand of the "One seated on the throne" (Rev 5:1). Perhaps the opened books that Daniel sees in Daniel 7 are opened by the Ancient One. However, the enthroned One does not open the concealed book. It is the Lamb who is declared worthy of opening the seals of the book concerning the end of time (Rev 5:5).

Of particular significance is the fact that John's portrayal of a series of acts taken by the Lamb alludes to Daniel's throne-scene. In Daniel 7 the one like a son of man arrives at the throne and presents himself before the Ancient One (Dan 7:13). In Revelation 5 the Lamb "stands" in the midst of the angelic hosts, "comes" to the enthroned God, and "takes" the book from the deity (Rev 5:6-7). Then the Lamb "breaks" one of its seven seals (Rev 6:1). In response,

²¹⁰ The frequent Aramaic phrase, *הִנֵּה הָיִיתִי* (I was seeing or I saw) introduces each new object, to which Daniel either begins or turns attention in Dan 7 (7:4, 6, 9, 13, 21; cf. 2:31, 34; 4:7, 10).

²¹¹ Tenses of verbs of OG Dan 7:10 suggest a certain process in which a judgment court is set: Only after the myriads of host "had stood before" (*παρειστήκεισαν*, pluperfect) the Ancient One, the books were opened (*ἤνεώχθησαν*, aorist) and the court (lit. judgment) sat (*ἐκάθισε*, aorist). The word order of Papyrus 967 is suggestive. Unlike the MT, in OG 7:9 "the books were open" precedes "the court sat," denoting that the first is preliminary to the latter. For Papyrus 967, see Frederic G. Keynon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri Vol. VII* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), 27; Ziegler, *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*, 338.

“thousands of” and “myriads of” the angelic hosts, all of whom Daniel saw as surrounding the throne of the Ancient Days, praise the Lamb (Daniel 7:10; Rev 6:11). Special attention needs to be paid to this heavenly liturgy, for the liturgy envisions the Lamb as entering into the *inner* sphere of the throne of God. When “the Lamb” approaches “the One seated on the throne” to take the book (Rev 5:7), the whole universe praises not only “the One seated on the throne” but also “the Lamb” (Rev 5:13). Analogously, “the One seated on the throne and the Lamb” are both worshiped by a magnificent chorus of countless martyrs (Rev 7:10, 14).²¹² It is here, in the midst of the martyrs’ praise, that the Lamb’s entrance into God’s throne is envisaged. The Lamb that shepherds them dwells “in the center of the throne” (Rev 7:17a). Thus Christ translates away from one place in the throne-hall, where he “stands” between the throne and the angels, to the other place upon the seat of God’s throne.²¹³

I suggest that Christ’s transference from the outside of God’s throne to the inside of God’s throne suggests Christ’s ontological transformation. In the scene of the heavenly liturgy, the Lamb is said to ransom the chosen people for God (Rev 5:9-10). In a sense, the mediatory atonement of the Lamb here serves to distinguish the Lamb from the enthroned one, for the Lamb’s act of redemption may well mean that Christ exists not as God but rather as an intermediary figure between God and God’s chosen people. In Daniel 7 we see how carefully the author distinguishes the figure like a human being from the enthroned God. In Revelation John appears to revise the difference between both characters in Daniel, for the distinction between

²¹² Richard Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 60, rightly states that the worship of God and of the Lamb suggests Christ’s participation in the reality within God.

²¹³ Similar transference of the dwelling place of the Messiah is attested to in the Enochic *Book of Similitudes*. There the “Chosen One” who is said to be “beneath the wings of the Lord of Spirits” is enthroned by the “Head of Days” on the throne (*I Enoch* 39:7; 51:3; 61:8).

God and Christ is implied as dissolved in the throne visions. The enthroned Judge has multiple opened “books,” in which behaviors of every resurrected one are recorded for judgment (Rev 20:11). Who is this divine Judge? The identity of the Judge is disclosed when John hears a speech from the mouth of the enthroned Judge: “I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end (ἐγὼ [εἰμι] τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ, ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος)” (Rev 21:6). Crucial is the fact that the name of the enthroned Judge is clarified as the name of Christ when the name is in its entirety attributed to Christ: “See, I am coming soon; my reward is with me, to repay according to everyone’s work. I am the Alpha and the Omega (ἐγὼ τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ), the first and the last, the beginning and the end (ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος)” (Rev 22:12-13).

Even profounder is the level of Christ’s name disclosed in John’s elaboration on Daniel’s throne-vision: Christ and God *share* their names and exist in union.²¹⁴ The periphrasis of the divine name of the enthroned Judge should imply a *unified* being of both Christ and God. Notice that part of the periphrasis, “the Alpha and the Omega,” is previously used to refer only to God in Rev 1:8 (“I am the Alpha and the Omega,” says the Lord God”), but now precisely the same formula is shifted to refer to Christ in Rev 22:13.²¹⁵ That Christ owns God’s name is affirmed by

²¹⁴ The fact that Jesus shares the name of God is further attested. God is called “the One who was, who is, and who is to come” (Rev 1:4, 8), whereas Jesus is called the one “alive forever and ever (Rev 1:18). Later, however, God is revealed to have Christ’s name. Like Christ, God is introduced as the one who “lives forever and ever” (Rev 4:10). On the function of God’s name in early Christology, see Jarl E. Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origin of Gnosticism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985); idem, *The Images of the Invisible God: Essays on the Influence of Jewish Mysticism on Early Christology* (NTOA 30; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995); Richard Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies in the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993), 30-35; idem, *God Crucified: Monotheism and Christology in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998); 34, 40-42; and, Charles A. Gieschen, “The Divine Name in Ante-Nicene Christology,” *VC* 57/2 (2003): 115-158 (esp. 121-127). Gieschen examines many relevant ancient texts that show the divine name Christology such as 1 Enoch 37-71, 3 Enoch 12-13, the Apocalypse of Abraham 10:3, 8, and the Prayer of Joseph.

²¹⁵ Some scholars (e.g., Aune, *Revelation 17-22* [Waco: Word, 1998], 126) want to see the verse in question as God’s speech. But for them, it is nevertheless hard to explain why God is associated with Christ’s action of providing life-giving water. It would seem that the sharing of name and ministry

another part of the periphrasis in Rev 22:13, “the beginning and the end.” It resonates incontestably with the name of the One like a son of man, “the first and the last (ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος)” (Rev 1:17). Hence, the enthroned Judge’s name that combines the name of Christ and the name of the enthroned One implies their full integration.²¹⁶

Along the same line, John’s depiction of both characters’ ministry bolsters their union. In the celestial worship a presbytery foretells the Lamb’s future ministry: the Lamb “in the center of the throne” will be the shepherd who will “guide” God’s people “to springs of the water of life” (Rev 7:17a). The forecast shepherd turns out to be the One seated on the throne of God, saying, “I will give water as a gift from the spring of the water of life” (Rev 21:5, 6b). This “I” points to none other than the anticipated “shepherd,” now seated on the throne. Again, the ministry of the shepherd should not be taken as that of the Christ *alone*, inasmuch as part of the name of the shepherd, “the Alpha and the Omega,” is formerly used for the enthroned God. Put another way, the ministry of the Christ is defined as a *collaborative* ministry of Christ and God. For this reason, in the New Jerusalem “the water of life” is furnished from “the throne of God and of the Lamb,” a throne that is co-owned by Christ and God (Rev 22:1, 3). The essential message of this shared throne is that the enthroned shepherd who provides the water of life is neither Christ alone nor God alone. Instead, the throne serves as the place, where the ontological annexation of Christ and God is initiated as well as completed. It is upon the throne that both Christ and God have a common name, ministry, and finally, the throne itself. In this regard, Christ is enthroned within the enthroned God, while simultaneously accomplishing Christ’s integration with God. In Daniel

between Jesus and God serves as apocalyptic rhetoric, in which John expresses the union of Christ and God.

²¹⁶ The transformative power of God’s name is also perceived by the German Pietists who viewed that “knowledge of the divine name ... entails some vision of the light that is contained in the name” (Wolfson, *Through a Speculum that Shine*, 243).

7 the son of man figure is elevated to the divine being in the celestial throne-hall. But the figure is never identified with the enthroned One. John's Christology, therefore, appropriates Daniel's vision of the throne-hall in the way in which the figure's assimilation to angelic beings is transformed into Christ's unification with God.

2. Christ's Movement from Heaven to Earth

Christ moves from the heavenly hall down to the war-field on earth to execute the arch enemy of God's people. In doing so, John portrays Christ as the Ancient One, whose advent brings judgment in favor of God's people (Dan 7:22). Motivated by the heavenly books that Daniel sees open before the Ancient One, John develops his theme that Christ is the only one worthy of opening the book that triggers God's eschatological plan for the world. Here John takes one step further to refine the intervening act of the Ancient One in Daniel 7. In Daniel 7 a little horn of the fourth beast wages war with the holy people of God (Dan 7:21). The beast exercises intense violence to them and even their God: the speaking horn "wears out the saints of the Most High" and "speaks words against the Most High" (Dan 7:25a). However, the cruel and blasphemous beast advances in triumph only "until the Ancient One comes" (Dan 7:22a). Thus the Ancient One not only sits on the heavenly throne but also "comes" to the deity's loyal people,²¹⁷ by cutting in on the earthly battle between the deity's people and the beast (Dan 7:22a). However,

²¹⁷ As this action of "coming" associates the one like a son of man with the Ancient One in Daniel 7, so Christ and God are in common described as a "coming" deity in Revelation. Part of the name of God, "One who is to come (ὁ ἐρχόμενος)," is reused in the description of the advent of Christ, who "comes (ἐρχεται)" on the clouds (Rev 1:4, 7-8). For a comprehensive work on the relation between God's name and Christology, see Sean M. McDonough, *YHWH at Patmos: Rev. 1:4 in its Hellenistic and Early Jewish Setting* (WUNT 2/107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 195-228.

how the Ancient One confronts the beast at the battleground remains uninformed, thereby paving the way for John's interpretive speculation of the war in greater detail in Revelation.

Like Daniel's Ancient One, John's Christ moves from his celestial throne-seat to the mundane battle-arena. He rescues the holy people in the end time. John skillfully designs his theme of eschatological war in Revelation as refashioning elements of Daniel's vision. For example, the terrible beast that oppresses the saints in Daniel reappears in Revelation. John's beast "comes up out of the sea" (OG Dan 7:3; Rev 13:1) and its head has "ten horns" that represent "ten kings" (OG Daniel 7:7, 21; Rev 13:1; 17:12). One of the ten horns has "a mouth speaking great things" and "makes war with the saints and overcomes them."²¹⁸ (Th. Dan 7:21; Rev 13:5, 7). The sacrilegious speech that the Danielic horn makes becomes specified. John states that the beast "blasphemes God's name and God's dwelling, that is, those who dwell in heaven" (Rev 13:6). In wielding its monopolistic economic power, the beast desires to exalt its own name as much as it profanes God's name.

Particularly, John transforms the military image of the fourth beast's horn in OG Daniel. In OG Daniel 7:21, the visionary sees "the horn organizing"²¹⁹ the war with the saints and putting them to flight (τὸ κέρας ἐκεῖνο πόλεμον συνιστάμενον πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ τροπούμενον αὐτοὺς).²²⁰ John makes a commentary on the act of the beast, depicting how the fourth beast plays the chief role in contriving the battle. The ten kings have "one purpose, in which they endow the beast with power and authority" (Rev 17:13). In response, the fourth beast assembles

²¹⁸ Daniel Th. has ἴσχυσεν that is correspondent to νικῆσαι in Revelation.

²¹⁹ For this meaning of συνιστάμενον, see LSJ: 1718-1719. The usage of the verb is diverse. King Josiah "organized [joined] war with him [Pharaoh] (συνεστήσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν πόλεμον)" (I Es 1:29). Sinful kings are described as "organizing feast(s), (συνπόσια/συνπόσιον ... συνιστάμενος/συστησάμενος)" (3 Ma 4:16; 5:36). In particular, with "πόλεμος (war)" as its object, see 1 Maccabees 1:2, 18; 2:32; 3:3.

²²⁰ For this meaning of τροπούμενον, see LSJ: 1827.

those kings and their armies, becomes their commander, and battles with Christ's armies (Rev 19:19). How does John paint Christ's reaction to the beast against the background of Daniel 7? In Daniel 7:22a the Ancient One is simply said to "come." Thus the clash between the fourth beast and the Ancient One is dimly hinted. We are left unknown of the deity's particular act to slaughter the beast (Dan 7: 21, 22). By contrast, John gives a full account of the clash as well as its final result. Forming alliance with other ten kings' armies, the beast confronts the Lamb. Christ is called "Lord of lords and King of kings" (Rev 17:14, 11) as well as "One who is seated on the white horse" (Rev 17:14; 19:11, 16).²²¹ Christ arrests the beast and "throws it into the lake of fire" (Rev 19:16, 19, 20). This act of Christ echoes the fate of the fourth beast in Daniel 7, where the beast's corpse is abused and hurled into "the flame of fire" (Dan 7:11). Again, in showing Christ's salvific movement from heaven to earth for the saints, John's use of Daniel 7 divulges his understanding of Jesus as the Ancient One.

3. Two Factors of the Christology in Revelation

John's Christology may well embody "binitarian frame of Christian worship," in which God and the exalted Christ are venerated together in such a way as to preserve the Jewish monotheistic tradition.²²² Why then did John's binitarian understanding of Christ's divinity use the Book of Daniel? In what specific points did Daniel provide the ideological foundation for John's Christology? I suggest two important factors in which John could draw his insight from OG

²²¹ This is a Christological epithet that John attributes to Jesus from the mouth of King Nebuchadnezzar, who praises the Sovereign Lord in OG Daniel 4. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology*, 253, perceives only the structural function of the epithet that "unite the starkly different angelomorphic and Lamb depiction of Christ," while emphasizing the other names of the rider of the white horse such as "a name that no one but he himself knows" and "the Word of God" (Rev. 19:12-13).

²²² Larry Hurtado, "The Binitarian Shape of Early Christian Worship," in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus* (JSJSup 63; ed. Carey C. Newman et. al.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999), 210.

Daniel.²²³ The first factor is the Jewish messianology that involves a visionary experience of invisible forms of God in OG Daniel 7. There God takes on two different anthropomorphic forms: One like a son of man and the Ancient One. As John attributes these two divine forms to Jesus, John understands that the two forms in OG Daniel 7 indicate not so much two Gods (or, two powers in heaven) but rather two *images* of one God. Therefore, in formulating his binitarian Christology, John bestows upon Christ the two images of God in OG Daniel 7. These two images of God are found in the depiction of the advent of the One like a son of man (OG Dan 7:13):

ἐπὶ²²⁴ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἦρχετο
καὶ ὥς²²⁵ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν παρῆν
καὶ οἱ παρεστηκότες παρήσαν αὐτῷ
On the clouds of heaven, like a son of man he was coming;
and like an Ancient One he was present;
and the bystanders were at his command²²⁶

As compared to MT Dan 7:13, the most striking aspect of OG Dan 7:13 lies in the fact that the figure like a son of man not “reach to the Ancient One (אֶדְעֵתִּיק יוֹמִיא)” but rather “is present

²²³ I am not saying that John uses only OG Daniel. In Revelation John uses the Aramaic and Greek Daniels, both OG and Th., with a clear preference to OG.

²²⁴ Attestable also in Tertullian’s corpus, *De carne Christi*. A similar preposition, ἐπάνω is attested in Justin Martyr’s writing (See Ziegler, *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*, 338).

²²⁵ Chisianus 88, Syro-Hexapla, and Papyrus 967. It is unnecessary to supply the pronoun “one” as is usually rendered: “One like a son of man was coming (or came) with the clouds of heaven.” The prepositional phrase “ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου” functions as a comparative: “like/as a son of man.” The syntax that a prepositional phrase is followed by a verb finds a precedence in its immediate context, Dan 7:4: “like a human being she was made stand (בְּאִנָּשׁ הִקִּימָת)”. Johan Lust, “The Septuagint Version of Daniel 4-5,” in *The Book of Daniel: In the Light of New Findings* (ed. A. S. Van der Woude; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 4, rightly points out that in OG Dan OG 7:13 the Greek (ὡς) is always comparative. Dan MT 7 too frequently adopts the Aramaic preposition ܐܕ as a comparative: “like lion” (ܕܐܕܠܝܐ) and “like a human being” (ܕܐܕܐܢܫܐ) (v. 4), “like a leopard” (ܕܐܕܠܥܡܪ) (v. 6), “like eyes of a human being” (ܕܐܕܝܢܐܝܝܐ) (v. 8), “like a snow” (ܕܐܕܠܝܓ) and “like a wool” (ܕܐܕܡܪ) (v. 9).

²²⁶ For my translation of “παρήσαν” (they were at his command), see BDAG, 774, where one possible meaning of “πάρεσιμι” is suggested as “at one’s disposal.” In that usage the Greek verb takes a dative object: πάρεστί τί μοι (“something is at my disposal”). Like Dan OG 7:13, Wisdom 11:21 employs the same idiom to express God’s Lordship: “τὸ γὰρ μέγας ἰσχύειν σοι πάρεστιν πάντοτε (For it is always at your command to show great strength).”

as an Ancient One (ὡς παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν παρῆν).” One should not reduce OG Dan 7:13 to a Jewish scribe’s mistake that happened to extend its long trajectory to Revelation. It is equally unnecessary to view that the figure is an incarnation of the Ancient One.²²⁷ John regards the Danielic two figures as two *images* of Christ, rather than two divine entities.²²⁸ As a result, the “Ancient One” on the throne-seat in Daniel 7, according to OG Daniel 7:13, is one of the anthropomorphic manifestations of God. The other human appearance of God is the figure “like a son of man.”

Why two anthropomorphic images of one God? It seems that in OG Daniel 7 God’s two images correspond to God’s two actions. As God “was coming (ἦρχετο)” on the clouds, God appears in the form of “a son of man,” but, as God reached the place, God “was present (παρῆν)” in the form of “an Ancient One.” In terms of epistemology, the reason Daniel perceives two different images of God is that, in the sphere of Daniel’s visual sense, God can be perceived through the two separate images. Strictly speaking, God, who is invisible and not human, is neither one like a son of man nor an Ancient One. God only chooses to manifest God “like (ὡς)” the two temporary cognizable images (OG Dan 7:13). In this regard, the shift of Christ’s form from “the Lion of tribe of Judah” to “a Lamb standing as one who had been slaughtered” may well be explained by the visionary’s sensibility of theophany. Namely, when John only “hears” of the Christ, Christophany is expected as an image of lion, but as the visionary “sees” Christ in

²²⁷ Pace Christopher C. Rowland, “The Vision of the Risen Christ in Rev 1:13 ff: The Debt of an Early Christology to an Aspect of Jewish Angelology,” *JTS* 31/1 (1980): 2-3, who states: “The implication of the LXX reading is that the human figure is regarded as the embodiment of the divine, in so far as the characteristics of divinity have been transferred to them.”

²²⁸ In the rabbinic tradition the Ancient One is understood as an image of an elder. The view that God appears as an old man in Daniel 7:9 is continued by Byzantine writers and artists. See Gretchen Krehling McKay, “Imaging the Divine: A Study of the Representations of the Ancient of Days in Byzantine Manuscripts” (Ph.D. diss. University of Virginia, 1997); and idem, “The Eastern Christian Exegetical Tradition of Daniel’s Vision of the Ancient of Days,” *J ECS* 7/1 (1999): 139-161.

Christophany the image of Christ is perceived as the Lamb (Rev 5:6, 7).²²⁹ Both the invisible God in Daniel 7 and Jesus Christ in Revelation, therefore, are unable to be recorded without using, though none of them can represent the whole manifestation, the multiple images.

This way of recording of theophany had been well appreciated and full-blossomed in the tradition of the rabbinic interpretation of Daniel and especially of the Jewish mysticism. In the aggadic tradition the polymorphous forms of God are speculated primarily as “an elder on Mount Sinai” (the Ancient One) and “a youth at the Red Sea” (the One like a son of man),²³⁰ and are actively cultivated in the Haside Ashkenaz that prospered in the 12th and 13th centuries in the Rhineland.²³¹ In those relevant materials many of the different appearances of God are treated as “multiple theophanic manifestations of the singular God”²³² For this reason, Daniel 7:9, together with its visionary context in Daniel 7, has been thought to be a reference to the multiple forms of a singular God by the rabbinic interpreters who disputed a heretic view that there exist two divine powers.²³³

This line of reasoning of the protean appearance of God brings me to the second factor of John’s Christology, that is, the theme of transformation in Daniel. Indeed, the transformation theme functions as an important unifying factor of the book of Daniel. The theme develops from Daniel 4 to Daniel 7 to Daniel 12. The theme appears first in the story of Nebuchadnezzar in

²²⁹ Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation*, 74.

²³⁰ Wolfson, *Through a Speculum that Shine*, 33-41. For a different view, see Saadia Gaon, *The Book of Daniel: The Commentary of R. Saadia Gaon* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2006) 547, who does not see “One like a son of man” as an image of God. But Gaon too regards the phrase as a reference to the messiah who is shown as “a youth” in comparison to the image of “the old man.”

²³¹ Wolfson, *Through a Speculum that Shine*, 217-219.

²³² *Ibid.*, 40.

²³³ Alan F Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports About Christianity and Gnosticism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), 33-57.

Daniel 4, and, as I have discussed in greater detail in previous section, distinctively develops from the figure in Daniel 7 to the *maskilim* in Daniel 11-12. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the continuity between OG Daniel 4 and 7 becomes more palpable in the Chester Beatty Papyrus (Papyrus 967).²³⁴ There arrangement of material differs from that of all other Greek recensions or codices.²³⁵ In Papyrus 967, where Daniel 7 and 8 are placed before Daniel 5 and 6, much of the significance of Daniel's vision of the messianic figure in Daniel 7 emerges from the penumbra of the Babylonian kings' extraordinary experience in Daniel 4.²³⁶

The Danielic theme of transformation is transferred to John's Christology when Christ is integrated with God on God's throne. Through the union with God, on the one hand, the Lamb is *transformed* to the enthroned One. On the other hand, the union between the Lamb and the enthroned One is another expression of the idea of God in OG Daniel 7, where God assumes two separate human images. In particular, the second factor for the shaping of John's Christology helps us understand John's Christological title, "King of kings and the Lord of lords" that appears in the story of transformation of King Nebuchadnezzar in OG Daniel 4. Nebuchadnezzar professes that "He is ... Lord of lords and King of kings" (OG Dan 3:18, 34).²³⁷ This impressive title Nebuchadnezzar applies to the heavenly sovereign is repeatedly employed in Revelation when it becomes a title of both the Lamb and the Rider on the white horse (Rev 17:14; 19:16, 19-

²³⁴ On the textual-critical significance of Papyrus 967, see Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1968), 229-230, 301-302; and, Henze, *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar*, 22.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 18-23. It is widely agreed that some OT books in Old Greek appreciably diverge from the MT in terms of terminology, length, textual arrangement, and so forth.

²³⁶ Lust, "The Septuagint Version of Daniel 4-5," 44-45, nicely points out the linguistic affiliation of OG Daniel 7 with OG Daniel 4. However, Lust's observation of the shared language is still short of capturing the remarkable kinship of thought between both chapters.

²³⁷ In the MT this lesson that Nebuchadnezzar learns is put into the mouth of Daniel (Dan 4:25b).

20). Here we see that the clash in Revelation between the beast and Christ is consonant with the clash in OG Daniel 7 between the kings in multiple bestial images and the figure in two human images. All the emperors of the faunal images in OG Daniel 7 are dethroned or shattered by the Ancient One, who either kills the fourth beast or prolongs lives of the rest of the beasts (OG Dan 4:20b; 7:11, 12).²³⁸ The deity divests those royal rebels of “power” and grants it, together with “empire,” to the holy people of the Most High (OG Dan 7:12, 26; 22, 27). Intriguingly, the Ancient One’s intervening act triggers reversal of fortune of God’s holy people. Once the Ancient One judges the horn, God’s holy people whom the horn maltreated “destroy” the horn’s “authority” and “resolve to defile and destroy utterly” (OG Dan 7:25-26).²³⁹ This victory of God’s people over the horn and its royal followers resurfaces in Revelation. It is not only Christ but also “those who with him are called and chosen and faithful” that conquer the allied forces of the beast (Rev 17:14). In a sense, Nebuchadnezzar’s confession of God’s dominium over all secular kings provides a prophecy that John finds realized in the eschatological victory of Christ and Christ’s people over all royal rebels. The monarch declares that “whoever speaks against the God of Heaven, I will condemn to death” (OG Dan 4:34c). Both the horn of the fourth beast in Daniel 7 and the beast in Revelation 17 turn out to be recipients of Nebuchadnezzar’s grim curse. The horn who “speaks words against the Most High” is utterly destroyed by the holy people of the Most High (OG Dan 7:25-26). Likewise, Christ and Christ’s chosen people utterly defeat the beast (Rev 17:14).

²³⁸ In Daniel 7 God executes first the fourth beast and then the other kings. This pattern recurs in Rev 19:19-21.

²³⁹ Lit. “they resolved to defile and to destroy until the end” (βουλεύσονται μιᾶναι καὶ ἀπολέσαι ἕως τέλους) (OG Dan 7:26).

III. The Literary Allusion to Ezekiel 1-3 in Daniel 10

The tenth chapter of Daniel preludes the final revelation that is narrated by an anonymous heavenly messenger in Daniel 10-12. The angel appears to Daniel (Dan 10:1-9) and announces a celestial war between Michael, the guardian prince of Israel, and the patron princes of Persia and Greece (Dan 10:10-11:1). Then follows the revelation that provides a preview of the coming affairs and unprecedented suffering of God's people (Dan 11:2-11:45). A prediction of the resurrection of the dead brings closure to this longest, exceedingly detailed, and "maddeningly opaque" narrative vision (Dan 12:1-3).²⁴⁰ The whole book is ended with the heavenly revealer's final exhortation to Daniel (Dan 12:4-13).

In Chapter 10 Daniel portrays his vision in explicitly prophetic dictions, especially those found in Ezekiel 1-3, 9 and Isaiah 6.²⁴¹ Although God does not install Daniel as God's prophet, the reader cannot but feel the mood of the prophetic call narrative. Daniel says that "a word" was revealed to him (Dan 10:1). Receiving the words concerning a great conflict, Daniel abstains from flesh and wines for three weeks (Dan 10:2-3). Then Daniel is visited by an extraordinary figure of heavenly origin whom he calls "one man" (Dan 10:5). Some exegetes designate this exceptional being with the angel Gabriel.²⁴² The matter of the figure's identity remains perplexing. For example, Daniel already reports twice his erstwhile encounters with "Gabriel" (Dan 8:16-18; 9:21-23). If Daniel meets again with Gabriel, why does Daniel not name the

²⁴⁰ Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel*, 181.

²⁴¹ Henze, "The Use of Scripture in the Book of Daniel," 292.

²⁴² E.g., Bentzen, *Daniel*, 78; Porteous, *Daniel*, 151; Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 34; Redditt, *Daniel*, 170-171; and, Michael Fishbane, "לענין אותות במקרא," *Shenaton: An Annual for Biblical and Near Eastern Studies* 1 (1975): 225. Fishbane briefly compares Daniel 10 and Ezek 1:1-3:9. Anderson, *Signs and Wonders*, 123, asserts quite an unlikely view that Daniel 10 paints not Gabriel, Michael, or God but rather "a theophanic-like experience."

heavenly figure as Gabriel?²⁴³ Another question militates against the view of the figure as Gabriel. Gabriel's first coming to Daniel overwhelms Daniel, to be sure (Dan 8:17-17). One should nevertheless recognize that, in his second meeting with Gabriel, Daniel shows himself perfectly secure from Gabriel's appearance (Dan 9:21-27).²⁴⁴ If this anonymous figure is Gabriel, why does Daniel dread again Gabriel's outward form? Moreover, the figure's power in Daniel 10 seems to by far transcend Gabriel's power in Dan 8:17-18. Daniel is repeatedly and hopelessly overwhelmed and revived by the figure (Dan 10:10, 16, 18).²⁴⁵

As a matter of fact, Daniel is reluctant to dare to name the heavenly figure.²⁴⁶ More important for our interests, Daniel is at great pains to associate in varying ways the heavenly revealer with anthropomorphic images of God that are at home in Ezekiel. For example, three circumlocutory references that Daniel persistently applies to the heavenly revealer readily bring our attention to the Glory of YHWH in Ezekiel: "one man" (אִישׁ־אָחָד), "one who resembles a son of man" (בְּדִמוּת בְּנֵי אָדָם), and "one with human form" (בְּמִרְאָה אָדָם) (Dan 10:5, 16, 18).

In short, the author of Daniel 10 carefully distinguishes the anonymous figure from other angels in the book such as Gabriel and Michael.²⁴⁷ The point becomes understandable as we recognize author's system of allusion in the figure to the Glory of YHWH. The image of figure in Daniel 10 flows from not angelic beings but from their Lord God. In recognizing the figure's supremacy over other angelic figures in the book, therefore, one needs to pay special attention to

²⁴³ Eising, "Die Gottesoffenbarungen bei Daniel im Rahmen der alt. Theophanien," 70. In Dan 9:21, Daniel recognizes Gabriel as the one whom Daniel saw in his previous vision. In Dan 10:16-17, 19, by contrast, Daniel persistently calls this figure "my lord."

²⁴⁴ *pace* Smith-Christopher, "The Book of Daniel," 136.

²⁴⁵ Lacocque, *Daniel*, 206.

²⁴⁶ Charles, *Daniel*, 257.

²⁴⁷ Charles, *Daniel*, 258; and, Arthur Jeffery, "The Book of Daniel," in *IB* 6:502.

the fact that textual details of the figure's appearance stem from Ezekiel's language used for the manifestation of the Glory of YHWH.²⁴⁸

The significant points of contact between Daniel's encounter with the mysterious figure (Daniel 8) and Ezekiel's encounter with the Glory of YHWH (Ezekiel 1-2) are nicely captured by R.A. Hall:

"Exegetical study of the prophets is apparently also responsible for the manner in which the fourth vision report has been constructed, for the parallels between it and the vision narrated in Ezek. 1-2 are even more obvious than those which we saw earlier between Dn. 8 and Ezek. 1-2: 1) Only the fourth vision report in Daniel is dated to a specific month and day (to Dn. 10:4a compare Ezek. 1:1-2). 2) Both visions take place on the bank of a great river in Babylon (to Dn. 10:4b compare Ezek. 1:3). 3) Both visions describe a man whose appearance is like fire and burnished bronze (to Dn. 10:5-6 compare Ezek. 1:26-28). 4) Both visions compare the sound of the Almighty to the noise of a multitude (to Dn. 10:6 compare Ezek. 1:24). 5) Both narratives record that the one receiving the vision responded by falling on his face (to Dn. 10:9 compare Ezek. 1:28). 6) Both narratives indicate that the recipient of the vision was set upon his feet to hear the words of the divine speaker (to Dn. 10:10-11 compare Ezek. 2:1-2). 7) Both visions use the appellative "Son of man," though it is used in Ezek. 2:1 to address Ezekiel and in Dn. 10 to describe the messenger sent to speak to Daniel."²⁴⁹

Hall's brief comparison is helpful. However, his third and fourth points seem to be short of precision. Unlike the figure in Daniel 10, the Glory in Ezekiel 1 does not have "burnished bronze," which belongs in fact to the four chariot-carriers (Dan 10:6; Ezek 1:7). In Ezekiel's vision, similarly, the "sound" that the prophet speaks of is not the enthroned God's sound but from the four throne-holders (Dan 10:6; Ezek 1:24).

²⁴⁸ Eising, "Die Gottesoffenbarungen bei Daniel im Rahmen der alt. Theophanien," 70, sees that the depiction of the heavenly figure as evoking God's manifestations suggests the figure's status surpassing all previous description of angels. However, Eising appeals to only a point of *internal* connection between the figure in Daniel 10 and the Ancient One (Dan 7:9).

²⁴⁹ Roger Alan Hall, "Post-Exilic Theological Streams and the Book of Daniel" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1974), 213. See also Stephen Breck Reid, *Enoch and Daniel: A Form Critical and Sociological Study of Historical Apocalypses* (BMS 2; Berkeley: Bibal Press, 1989), 110; Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 99; Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 75; Fishbane, *The Garments of Torah*, 69; and, Henze, "The Use of Scripture in the Book of Daniel," 291-294.

A. Main Signs of Allusion

In this section I examine how Daniel's visionary encounter with the heavenly revealer in Daniel 10 alludes to Ezekiel's visionary experience of anthropomorphic theophany in Ezekiel 1. In doing so, I propose that, together with the figure like the son of man in Daniel 7, the divine figure in human form in Daniel 10 functions to forecast the eschatological transformation of the *maskilim* in Daniel 12. Let me begin with numerous linguistic affinities between Daniel 10 and Ezekiel 1. I provide below a series of main signs of allusion:

Chart X: Main Signs of Allusion

The Alluding Text	The Evoked Text
Daniel 10	Ezekiel 1
v. 4 I was by ... the river ... Hiddekel אֲנִי הָיִיתִי עַל ... הַנָּהָר ... חִדְקֵל	v. 1 I was by the river Chebar ... אֲנִי ... עַל-נְהַר-כְּבָר
v. 7 and I, Daniel ... saw the vision וְרָאִיתִי אֲנִי דְנִיָּאל ... אֶת-הַמְּרָאָה and I saw this great vision וְאֶרְאָה אֶת-הַמְּרָאָה הַגְּדֹלָה הַזֹּאת	and I saw visions of God וְאֶרְאָה מְרָאוֹת אֱלֹהִים
v. 5 I lifted my eyes and saw, and behold one man (אִישׁ-אֶחָד) clothed in linen and I saw ... his loins וְאֶרְאָה ... מִתְּנִיּוֹ	v. 26 a throne, high up, was the likeness of the appearance of a man (דְּמוּת כְּמֶרְאָה אָדָם) v. 27 and I saw ... his loins ... his loins ²⁵¹ וְאֶרְאָה ... מִתְּנִיּוֹ ... מִתְּנִיּוֹ
v. 16 as the likeness of sons of man ²⁵⁰ כְּדְמוּת בְּנֵי אָדָם	v. 26 the likeness of the appearance of a man דְּמוּת כְּמֶרְאָה אָדָם
v. 18 like the appearance of a man כְּמֶרְאָה אָדָם	v. 26 the likeness of the appearance of a man דְּמוּת כְּמֶרְאָה אָדָם

²⁵⁰ The figure “like the appearance of sons of man” (כְּדְמוּת בְּנֵי אָדָם) in Dan 10:16 recalls the figure “like a son of man” (כְּבֶר אֲנָשׁ) in Dan 7:13. Both phrases envision a figure in human form. See Collins *Daniel* (1994), 375.

²⁵¹ The expression “his loins and upward and his loins downward” recurs in Ezek 1:27 and 8:2. The expression “like the appearance of brightness, like gleaming amber” (כְּמֶרְאָה-זֹהָר כְּעֵין הַחֹשֶׁמֶלֶה) is reminiscent of the appearance of the *maskilim* in glorification (Dan 12:3).

<p>v.9 I fell ... on my face, אָני הָיִיתִי נָרֹדִם עַל-פָּנַי וּפְנֵי אֲרָצָה when I heard the voice of his words כְּשִׁמְעִי אֶת-קוֹל דְּבָרָיו</p> <p>v. 15 when he had spoke with me according to these words בְּדַבְּרוֹ עִמִּי בְּדִבְרֵי הָאֱלֹהִים I turned my face to the ground נָתַתִּי פָנַי אֲרָצָה וְנֹאֲלַמְתִּי</p>	<p>v. 28 I fell on my face אָפַל עַל-פָּנַי I heard the voice of someone speaking אָפַל עַל-פָּנַי וְאִשְׁמַע קוֹל מְדַבֵּר</p> <p>v. 28 I heard the voice of someone speaking אָפַל עַל-פָּנַי וְאִשְׁמַע קוֹל מְדַבֵּר</p> <p>I fell on my face אָפַל עַל-פָּנַי</p>
<p>v.6 his body (גּוֹיָתוֹ)</p> <p>was like beryl (תְּרִשִׁישׁ)</p> <p>his face like the appearance of lightning (בְּמֵרָאָה בָּרָק)</p> <p>his eyes were like torches of fire עֵינָיו כְּלַפְיֵדֵי אֵשׁ</p> <p>his feet like the gleam of burnished bronze²⁵² מְרַגְלָתָיו כְּעֵין נְחֹשֶׁת קָלִל</p> <p>the sound of his words like the sound of a multitude קוֹל דְּבָרָיו כְּקוֹל הַמּוֹן</p>	<p>v. 11 two covered their bodies (גּוֹיָתֵיהֶנָּה) v. 23 two wings covering their bodies (גּוֹיָתֵיהֶם)</p> <p>v. 16 their appearance ... the gleaming of beryl (תְּרִשִׁישׁ)</p> <p>v. 14 like the appearance of lightning²⁵³ בְּמֵרָאָה הַבָּזָק</p> <p>v. 13 their appearances like burning coals of fire like the appearance of torches מֵרָאִיהֶם כְּגִחְלֵי-אֵשׁ בְּעֵרוֹת בְּמֵרָאָה הַלִּפְדִּים</p> <p>v. 7 their feet ... like the gleam of burnished bronze רְגְלֵיהֶם ... כְּעֵין נְחֹשֶׁת קָלִל</p> <p>v. 24 the sound of their wings ... sound of tumult קוֹל כְּנָפֵיהֶם ... קוֹל הַמְּלָה</p>

Daniel begins to recount his vision with essential details. He addresses in first person, saying, “I saw the vision ... by the river Hiddekel” (Dan 10:4, 7). The way Daniel introduces his visionary experience evokes Ezek 1:1, where the prophet is analogously specific about his encounter with the divine Glory.²⁵⁴ Ezekiel also states in first person, saying, “by the river Chebar ... I saw

²⁵² The expression “the gleam of burnished bronze” appears only in Dan 10:6 and Ezek 1:7

²⁵³ Possibly, בָּזָק is a scribal error for בָּרָק (BDB, 103). Thus *Tg. Ezek* 1:14 renders בָּזָק as “בְּרָקָא” (Cohen, *Mikra’ot Gedolot ‘Haketer*, 8). Cf. MT Ezek 1:13 “lightning (בָּרָק) issues from the fire.”

²⁵⁴ Collins, *Daniel* (1994), 373, compares Dan 10:4 and Ezek 1:1; 8:1 in terms of the specificity of the date and river.

visions of God” (Ezek 1:1).²⁵⁵ Daniel’s experiences of “seeing” and “hearing” are modeled on Ezekiel’s. Ezekiel “saw” (וַיֵּרְאֵהוּ) the Glory of a human form on the throne, and “heard a voice speaking” (וַיִּשְׁמַע קוֹל מְדַבֵּר, Ezek 1:28). Daniel “saw” (וַיֵּרְאֵהוּ) the great vision of the heavenly figure (Dan 10:8), and “heard the voice of his words” (וַיִּשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹל דְּבָרָיו, Dan 10:9). Exposed to the figure’s voice, Daniel is instantly rendered powerless (Dan 10:9, 15). Like Ezekiel, Daniel collapses on the ground (Dan 10:9; Ezek 1:28).

Who visits Daniel at the Babylonian shoreline? To answer the question, we should interpret the allusion in Daniel 10. Our first step is to recognize that Daniel refers to the heavenly figure with three different circumlocutions that point commonly back to the anthropomorphic manifestation of God (Dan 10:5, 16, 18; Ezek 1:26-28). Specifically, these three marker-phrases strewn over Daniel 10 all are linked with one common marked-phrase “the likeness of the appearance of a man” in Ezek 1:26. Why three separate makers for one marked? Allowing this skillfully crafted sign of allusion to correlate multiple markers and a common marked, the author helps the readers recall repeatedly the source text and preserve their memory throughout their understanding of the target text. As a result, Daniel’s vision of the heavenly figure gains in crescendo its profound meaning against the backdrop of Ezekiel’s vision of the Glory of YHWH. The first link is built between “one man” (אִישׁ-אֶחָד, Dan 10:5) and “the likeness of the appearance of a man” (דְּמוּת כְּמֵרֶאֱהָ אָדָם, Ezek 1:26). On the surface, the marker-phrase does not seem to share a strong affinity with the marked-phrase.²⁵⁶ Thus commentators and scholars

²⁵⁵ Robert Holmes and James Parsons, eds., *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cun variis lectionibus* (Oxonii: E typographeo Clarendoniano, 1827), ΔΑΝΙΗΛ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΔΩΤΙΩΝΑ, ΚΕΦ. Χ. Ν, provides a Greek MS reading of “Hiddekel” in Th. Dan 10:4, “Χοβαq,” which is Ezekiel’s “Chebar.” See Montgomery, *Daniel*, 407; and, Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 100.

²⁵⁶ Scholars often point out that the word “linen” links the man in Daniel 10 and the man in Ezekiel 9-10. E.g., Collins, *Daniel* (1994), 373; and, Lester, “Daniel Evokes Isaiah,” 86. The linking, though right, should not ignore the stronger affinity with the man in Ezekiel 1. P. Jean de Menasce,

often link “one man clad in linen” (אִישׁ-אַחַד לְבוּשׁ בְּדִים, Dan 10:5) to “one man clothed in linen” (לְבוֹשׁ בְּדִים ... אִישׁ-אַחַד, Ezek 9:2). What is crucial is, however, that, in reporting the man in Dan 10:5-6, Daniel combines light imagery and divine anthropomorphism—a feature absent from the man in Ezekiel 9.²⁵⁷ Taking up the mode of depiction that Ezekiel uses in his throne-vision in Ezekiel 1, Daniel firmly anchors the heavenly man’s shining image in the Glory’s luminous human form. There Ezekiel “sees” the blinding effulgence surrounding the Glory: the gleaming-amber-like radiance from the Glory’s “loins” and upward and fire-looking brilliance from the downward part of the Glory’s loins (Ezek 1:27). Ezekiel looked up, since the Glory was seated upon a throne “above expanse” (Ezek 1:26). To his brief depiction of the man Daniel adroitly incorporates Ezekiel’s emphasis on the “loins” of the divine body, its light imagery, and the seer’s posture of looking upward: Daniel “lifted up” his eyes, “saw” the man’s “loins” that are girt with shining “gold from Uphaz” (Dan 10:5).

This first link between the “man” (אִישׁ) in Daniel 10 and the “man” (אָדָם) in Ezekiel 1 may well prompt the reader to recognize the second link between “the likeness of sons of man” (בְּדִמוּת בְּנֵי אָדָם, Dan 10:16) and the “likeness of the appearance of a man” (בְּדִמוּת כְּמֵרְאֵה אָדָם, Ezek 1:26). The second link bears a stronger linguistic kinship than the first link. In addition to the shared term “man” (אָדָם), both the marker in Daniel and the marked employ in common another term “likeness” (דְּמוּת) to express “concrete physical things.”²⁵⁸ Presumably, the author

Daniel (2nd ed.; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1958), 81, n. e) remarks that Dan 10:5 contains features of the Son of Man tradition that is found in Ezek 1:4, 13; Rev 1:13-15; and, Rev 2:18. Again, Menasce fails to link the allusive reference, “one man” in Dan 10:5, and the referent, the Glory in Ezek 1:28.

²⁵⁷ Wolfson, *Through a Speculum that Shine*, 108, opines that “the description of God as *lumen substantiae*” in Jewish mystical texts is characteristic of “the coalescence of the anthropomorphism, light imagery, and linguistic mysticism.” Although Daniel 10 *per se* is not a text of Jewish mysticism, Wolfson’s view is instructive to perceive the link between Daniel 10 and Ezekiel 1, given that Daniel’s apocalyptic texts and Ezekiel’s theophanic texts are formative in later texts of Jewish mysticism.

²⁵⁸ McCall, “Body/Image: Divine and Human Bodies in the Book of Ezekiel,” 115.

of Daniel 10 perceived the term “likeness” as a part of Ezekiel’s “stock vocabulary.”²⁵⁹ The third link is detected when the reader recognizes the verbal kinship between the figure “like the appearance of a man” (כְּמֵרֹאֵה אָדָם, Dan 10:18) and the “likeness of the appearance of a man” (דְּמוּת כְּמֵרֹאֵה אָדָם, Ezek 1:26). Like the second link, the marker and the marked share two verbal components: “a man” and “like the appearance.” The marker is part of the marked, thereby giving a prominence to the eyes of the reader.

All the observation of the main signs of allusion above demonstrates that all three marker-phrases in Daniel 10 are linked to the same marked element in Ezekiel. The observation denotes that in Daniel 10 a *singular* heavenly figure is referred to by these three expressions commonly evocative of the anthropomorphic appearance of God in Ezekiel 1.²⁶⁰ There are no multiple angels in Daniel 10. Rather, Daniel encounters only one heavenly interlocutor three times that resembles the Glory in Ezekiel. This heavenly figure that first appears to Daniel in Daniel 10 offers revelation to Daniel in Dan 11:1-12:4 and is finally designated as “the man clothed in linen who is above the waters of the river” in Dan 12:6.²⁶¹ The strong parallelism between the “one man” in Dan 10:5-9 and “the one like the likeness of sons of man” in Dan 10:15-17 invalidates the view that there is a “throng of angels” in Daniel 10.²⁶² Instead, the

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 115. The term appears 25 times in the Hebrew Bible, 16 times in Ezekiel. The term in Dan 10:16 seems to have an interesting link with Isa 40:18, where a question is posed, “To whom then will you liken God, or what likeness (דְּמוּת) will you compare with him?” Daniel’s vision of the heavenly figure in Daniel 10 seems to make an inner-biblical conversation with the prophet’s question, as if responding to the question. The one in Daniel 10 can be likened to God in Isaiah 40.

²⁶⁰ Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 76; and, Gillian Bampfylde, “The Prince of the Host in the Book of Daniel and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *JSJ* 14/2 (1983):129-130. Bampfylde does not discuss the Ezekielian background of Daniel 10.

²⁶¹ Michael S. Heiser, “The Divine Council in Late Canonical and Non-canonical Second Temple Jewish Literature” (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 2004), 172.

²⁶² Benedikt Otzen, “Michael and Gabriel: Angelological Problems in the Book of Daniel,” in *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honor of A.S. van der Woude on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (VTSup 49; ed. F. García Martínez et al.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 115.

figure called “one man” in Dan 10:5 is *reintroduced* as the one that looks like a human being in Dan 10:16. Notice that Daniel’s bodily vulnerability to the heavenly figure’s appearance in Dan 10:8-10 recurs almost verbatim in Dan 10:15-17. To the overpowering “one man” Daniel says: “No strength was left in me ... and I retained no strength” (לֹא עֲצָרְתִּי כַח ... לֹא נִשְׁאַרְבִּי כַח, Dan 10:8). Upon hearing the voice of the man’s words, Daniel collapses, with “his face to the ground” (פָּנָי אֶרְצָה, Dan 10:9). The man’s hand “touches” (נִגַּעַ) Daniel (Dan 10:10). Just a few verses later, Daniel narrates his second sight of the heavenly figure. At this moment the heavenly man appears as “one with the likeness of sons of man” (Dan 10:16). Again, Daniel subjects himself to the sudden dire lassitude. In language closely resonant with that of Daniel’s encounter with the “one man” in Dan 10:5, Daniel states: “I have retained no strength ... there remains no strength in me (לֹא עֲצָרְתִּי כַח ... לֹא יִעֲמִדְבִּי כַח, Dan 10:16-17). Exposed to the heavenly figure’s voice, Daniel helplessly “turned his face toward the ground” (נָתַתִּי פָנַי אֶרְצָה, Dan 10:15). The one of a human semblance “touches” (נִגַּעַ) Daniel’s lips (Dan 10:16).

What of the third reference to the heavenly figure in Daniel’s vision? Like the second marker-phrase “the one with the likeness of sons of man” in Dan 10:16, the third marker-phrase “the one like the appearance of a man” in Dan 10:18 functions as a periphrasis for “one man” in Dan 10:5. To make my case, I would like to offer my second point of allusion. Through a series of connections between the three marker-phrases in Daniel 10 and one marked-phrase in Ezekiel 1, the author highlights that Daniel becomes progressively stronger through his consecutive experiences of seeing the divine emissary. As I pointed out above, the fact that in Daniel 10 Daniel sees one singular heavenly figure is implied by the distinctive *affinities* between Daniel’s depiction of the “one man” and Daniel’s depiction of the one with “the likeness of sons of man.” By contrast, the gradual process in which Daniel is strengthened to receive the eschatological

revelation from the heavenly figure is depicted through significant *differences* between the two depictions. Upon seeing the heavenly figure's dazzling appearance, Daniel's "glory turns into corruption" (Dan 10:8). In his second contact with the figure Daniel, though losing again his strength, no longer undergoes the severe disfigurement (Dan 10:16-17). In the first encounter the voice of the figure's words makes Daniel fall into a "trance," with his face to the ground (Dan 10:9). In the second encounter Daniel does not lose his consciousness when the figure speaks words to Daniel. The seer neither prostrates himself nor falls on his face to the ground; Daniel only "turns" his face toward the ground, thereby implying that Daniel still controls his body (Dan 10:15). Daniel's final direct contact with the same heavenly figure occurs when the figure appears as the one "like the appearance of a man" (Dan 10:18). The figure's third healing touch of Daniel completes the gradual process of Daniel's full recovery, or better stated, reinforcement. Thus Daniel shows himself unaffected either by seeing or by hearing the figure's voice. Now Daniel "stands firm" before the heavenly figure that radiates his terrifying brilliance (Dan 10:19).

Returning to my question, whom does Daniel see in his visionary experience in Daniel 10? How does allusion in Daniel 10 to Ezekiel 1 delineate the heavenly figure? Does the allusion show the heavenly figure to be the anthropomorphic manifestation of the Glory of YHWH in Ezekiel 1? To be sure, the author of Daniel 10 draws heavily upon Ezekiel's vision of the enthroned Glory of YHWH. Nonetheless, it is difficult to say that the figure in Daniel 10 is God in Ezekiel's merkabah-vision.²⁶³ It is principally because the figure's luminous body in Dan 10:6 recalls quite explicitly the four celestial throne-bearers in Ezekiel 1. The author of Daniel 10

²⁶³ *pace* Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 76. Similarly, William H. Shea, "Wrestling with The Prince of Persia: A Study on Daniel 10," *AUSS* 21/3 (1983): 232-233, regards the heavenly figure in Daniel 10 as God in Ezekiel 1 and 10. Shea's point is taken up by David E. Stevens, "Daniel 10 and the Notion of Territorial Spirits," *BSac* 157 (2000): 422.

shows the heavenly figure to be not so much identical with but *closest* to the Glory. Indeed, every single component of the depiction of the radiant “man” in Dan 10:6 stems from diverse elements that constitute Ezekiel’s portrayal of the cherubim in Ezekiel’s merkabah vision. Daniel’s terms “body” (גִּיּוֹרָה) derives from Ezekiel’s description of the wings of the cherubim’s “body” (Dan 10:6; Ezek 1:11, 23). Likewise, Daniel compares the heavenly figure’s body with “beryl” (תִּרְשִׁישׁ) to which Ezekiel likens the appearance of the wheels beside the cherubim (Dan 10:6; Ezek 1:9). To describe the figure’s countenance “like the appearance of lightning,” Daniel employs the phrase that Ezekiel formulates to describe the cherubim who constantly moves “like the appearance of lightning” (Dan 10:6; Ezek 1:14). Ezekiel reports their sparkling forms that resemble “burning coals of fire (אֵשׁ)” and “torches (הַלְפָדִים) darting back and forth” in the midst of them (Ezek 1:13). The cherubim’s blinding radiance in Ezekiel resurfaces as the heavenly figure’s likewise radiant eyes that are “like torches of fire” (כְּלִפְדֵי אֵשׁ) in Daniel (Ezek 1:13; Dan 10:6). Another light imagery of the throne-bearers is transmitted to the heavenly figure’s body when their “feet” are in common shining “like the gleam of burnished bronze” (Dan 10:6; Ezek 1:7). Finally, Daniel draws a close analogy between “the sound” of the figure’s “words” and “the sound” of the cherubim’s “wings” (Dan 10:6; Ezek 1:24). As the sound of the figure mimics that of “a multitude” (הַמִּוֶּן), so the sound of the throne-holders imitates that of “tumult” (הַמְלָה) (Dan 10:6; Ezek 1:24).²⁶⁴ The four cherubim are “God’s most immediate servants” who are “in the most immediate environment of God’s throne.”²⁶⁵ Thus we can say

²⁶⁴ Lacocque, *Daniel*, 202.

²⁶⁵ Karin Schöpflin, “God’s Interpreter: The Interpreting Angel in Post-Exilic Prophetic Visions of the Old Testament,” in *Yearbook 2007 Angels: The Concept of Celestial Beings—Origins, Development and Reception* (DCLY 2007; ed. Friedrich V. Reiterer et al.; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 200-201. Schöpflin sees that the figure in Daniel 10 is “very close” to God, not closest (p. 200).

that the allusion in the “one man” in Dan 10:6 to the cherubim in Ezekiel 1 functions as identifying the heavenly figure as God’s attendant closest to God.

In short, I would propose that the heavenly figure occupies a liminal status that borders simultaneously on God’s status and on angel’s status. The figure absorbs simultaneously the attributes of the enthroned Glory and the Glory’s angelic servants in Ezekiel. The three references to the heavenly figure in Dan 10:5, 16, 18 are the markers that establish three intertextual links with the anthropomorphic image of the Glory of YHWH in Ezekiel 1. This allusion functions as bestowing the Glory’s divine status upon the heavenly figure. At the same time, Daniel’s depiction of the heavenly figure’s luminous body in Dan 10:6 stems from Ezekiel’s depiction of the four dazzling chariot-carriers in Ezekiel 1. This allusion in turn functions as rendering the heavenly figure’s divine status completely subordinate to the Glory. These two functions of allusion in Daniel 10 to Ezekiel 1 are designed to condition the heavenly figure’s ontological status. In the hierarchical order of the celestial realm, on the one hand, the rank of the heavenly figure is inferior to that of God, for the figure’s body approximates the angelic attendants of the Glory of YHWH. On the other hand, the figure’s rank is superior to that of the four cherubim, since the heavenly figure’s three circumlocutions cohere in common into the figure’s image of the Glory of YHWH. Therefore, the double-function of allusion positions the heavenly figure in Daniel 10 between the Glory of YHWH and the four chariot-holders in Ezekiel 1. In this regard, the heavenly figure’s “special position in the angelic hierarchy” in Daniel 10 may well foreshadow similarly portrayed various characters in Jewish-Christian apocalypses:²⁶⁶ the Prince of Light at Qumran,²⁶⁷ Metatron in 3 Enoch, the heavenly Son of Man

²⁶⁶ Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 100.

²⁶⁷ Bampfylde, “The Prince of the Host,” 131-134.

in the Enochic Similitudes, the glorified Christ (Jaoel) in Apocalypse of Abraham,²⁶⁸ and the Resurrected Christ in Revelation.²⁶⁹ After providing the additional signs of allusion, I will turn back to this fascinating matter.

B. Supplemental Signs of Allusion

The main signs of allusion correlate Daniel 10 and Ezekiel 1, whereas the supplemental signs of allusion are scattered in wider textual scope between Daniel 10 and Ezekiel 1-3. I provide the list of signs in the chart below:

Chart XI: Supplemental Signs of Allusion

The Alluding Text	The Evoked Text
Daniel 10	Ezekiel 1-3
v.1 In the third year (שָׁנָה) of Cyrus king (מֶלֶךְ) of Persia a “word” (דְּבָר) was revealed to Daniel (דָּנִיֵּאל) he understood the “word” (דְּבָר) and understanding was given to him in the vision	1:2-3 On the fifth day of the month, which was during the fifth year (שָׁנָה) of King (מֶלֶךְ) Jehoiahchin, ... the word (דְּבָר) of the Lord came to the priest Ezekiel (יְחִיָּקָאֵל)
v. 11 Understand the words that I am about to tell you הִבֵּן בְּדִבְרִים אֲשֶׁר אֲנֹכִי דֹבֵר אֵלֶיךָ	3:10 take into your heart all my words that I shall speak to you ²⁷⁰ אֶת־כָּל־דִּבְרֵי אֲשֶׁר אֲדַבֵּר אֵלֶיךָ קַח בְּלִבְבְּךָ
vv. 14, 21 Now I have come to give you an understanding of what will happen to your people in the latter days, for the vision pertains to those days ... I will tell you what is inscribed in the writings (כְּתָב) of truth.	2:10-3:1 When he spread it before me, it was written (כְּתוּבָה) on the front and back; and written (כְּתוּב) on it were lamentations, mourning and woe. Then He said to me, "Son of man, eat what you find; eat this scroll, and go, speak to the house of Israel.
v.10 a hand touched me (נִגְעָה בִּי) and set me trembling on my hands and knees (תַּנִּיעַנִי עַל־בְּרָכִי)	2:2 the spirit entered (תָּבֵא בִּי) me and set me on my feet (תַּעֲמִדֵנִי עַל־רַגְלִי)

²⁶⁸ Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 105-109.

²⁶⁹ Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 100-113.

²⁷⁰ cf. Ezek 2:8, “Listen to what I am speaking to you” (שְׁמַע אֶת אֲשֶׁר־אֲנִי מְדַבֵּר אֵלֶיךָ).

v. 16 one who resembled a human being was touching (נִגַּעַ) my lips v. 18 Again, one with human appearance touched (יָגַעַ) me	
v. 12 Do not fear (אַל-תִּירָא) v. 19 Do not fear (אַל-תִּירָא) v. 18 One with human form strengthened me (וַיַּחֲזֶקֵנִי) v. 19 Be strong and be strong (חֲזַק וְחֲזַק) I was strengthened (הִתְחַזַּקְתִּי) you have strengthened me (חֲזַקְתָּנִי) v. 21 There is no one who stands firmly (מִתְחַזֵּק) with me ... but Michael your prince	2:6 Do not fear (אַל-תִּירָא) them, and Do not fear (אַל-תִּירָא) their words 3:9 Do not fear (לֹא-תִירָא) them 2:4 I am sending you to them who are hard-hearted (חֲזָקִי-לֵב) 3:7 the whole house of Israel have a hard forehead (חֲזָקִי-מִצָּח) 3:8 I made your face as hard (חֲזָקִים) as their faces your forehead as hard (חֲזָק) as their foreheads 3:9 Like emery harder (חֲזָק) than flint I have made your forehead 3:14 The hand of the Lord was strong (חֲזָקָה) upon me
v. 15 I became speechless וַנִּאָּלְמָתִי	3:26 I will make your tongue cling to the roof of your mouth, so that you shall be speechless (וַנִּאָּלְמָתִי) and unable to reprove them

Both Daniel and Ezekiel contain a “chronological formula” that dates their visionary experience according to a king’s name: King Cyrus and King Jehoiahchin (Dan 10:1; Ezek 1:3).²⁷¹ The names of recipients of the divine word, “Daniel” and “Ezekiel,” are mentioned in third person (Dan 10:1; Ezek 1:3; cf. Dan 7:1). More interestingly, a closer comparison of both texts unveils Daniel’s special role that is not shared with Ezekiel. On the one hand, like Ezekiel to whom the “word” of the Lord came, Daniel experiences the revelation of the “word” of God (Ezek 1:3; Dan 10:1). On the other hand, Daniel, unlike Ezekiel, emphasizes his act of understanding the word: Daniel “understood the word, and he has an understanding (of the word) in the vision” (Dan 1:1). Daniel’s point is clear. Like pre-exilic prophets, Daniel claims not only to be a recipient of the divine word but also to be the comprehender of the divine word through his

²⁷¹ Henze, “The Use of Scripture in the Book of Daniel,” 292 n.33.

special visionary experience. For Daniel, it should be through vision of the heavenly revealer that the human recipient of God's words reaches full understanding of them.

Daniel's self-understanding as a visionary interpreter of God's word is bolstered by another allusion. God commands that Ezekiel keep in mind God's words, saying, "Take into your heart 'all my words that I shall speak to you'" (כָּל־דְּבָרֵי אֲשֶׁר אֶדְבֵּר אֵלֶיךָ) (Ezek 3:10). The heavenly revealer in Dan 10:11 speaks in the divine idiom in Ezek 3:10, while at the same time underscoring Daniel's act of understanding: "Understand the words that I am about to tell you" (בְּדַבָּרִים אֲשֶׁר אֶנְכִי דֹבֵר אֵלֶיךָ) (Dan 10:11). Indeed, the end of time in Daniel 10-12 is characteristic of the special role of the seer who understands the divine word through vision. Daniel humbles himself to set his mind "to understand" (לְהַבִּין, Dan 10:12). In response, the heavenly figure appears in order to "make you understand" (לְהַבִּינֶךָ, Dan 10:14). The *maskilim* that Daniel represents "shall give understanding" (יְבִינֻ) to many covenant-adherents during the turbulent period under Antiochus IV (Dan 11:33). The act of understanding becomes a hall mark of the righteous people of God, for none of the wicked will "understand (יְבִינֻ), only the *maskilim* and those made righteous by the *maskilim* "will understand" (יְבִינֻ) (Dan 12:3, 10).

More specifically, what does the heavenly revealer instruct Daniel to understand? Notice that the revealer imparts to Daniel special knowledge of "what will happen to your people in the end of time" (Dan 10:14). The fountain of the knowledge of the eschatological future of God's people lies in "what is inscribed in the writing of truth" (הַרְשֻׁם בְּכַתֵּב אֱמֶת) (Dan 10:21). The heavenly interlocutor informs Daniel of contents of the writing of truth in Dan 11:1-12:3. Clearly, the heavenly emissary's intention is that Daniel spreads his knowledge of the endtime to "Daniel's people" (Dan 10:14).²⁷² That duty of Daniel proves crucial in Dan 12:1, where the

²⁷² Lit. "your people" (עַמֶּךָ).

heavenly revealer declares that only some of “Daniel’s people”²⁷³ shall be delivered. The idea of the writing as the reservoir of the divine revelation of salvation in Daniel is reminiscent of Ezekiel’s vision of the “written scroll” (מִגְלַת-סֵפֶר, Ezek 2:9).²⁷⁴ The scroll “was written” (כְּתוּבָה) on both sides, on which is “written” (כְּתוּב) the impending ominous future of God’s people (Ezek 2:10). Like Daniel’s duty, Ezekiel’s duty is to proclaim God’s words to Jewish audience in the time of tribulation. Thus the Glory commands Ezekiel to “eat” in its entirety the “scroll” and “speak to the house of Israel” (Ezek 3:1).

The duty that binds Ezekiel and Daniel leads us to see that both the alluding and the evoked texts deal commonly with how hard it is to become God’s messenger through visionary experience of the dreadful divine. It is difficult because the finite being cannot endure the infinite being. To receive the salvific knowledge of the infinite being’s revelatory words is undoubtedly a great honor for the finite visionaries. Nonetheless, they should survive the immediate encounter with luminous form of the infinite divine. Particularly, Daniel’s survival depends absolutely on the restorative care of the heavenly revealer. When Ezekiel sees the Glory of YHWH, he is stripped of all strength and falls on his face (Ezek 1:28). To set Ezekiel upright, God’s spirit “enters into Ezekiel” (תָּבֵא בִּי, Ezek 2:2). The divine spirit’s act for Ezekiel resurfaces as the heavenly figure’s act for Daniel. To set Daniel upright, the figure “touches Daniel” (נִגְעָה בִּי, Dan 10:10). The figure’s touch may well heal Daniel as deep as the divine spirit enters into Ezekiel.

Keeping in mind the parallels between Daniel and Ezekiel, it is fascinating to see that the author of Daniel 10 portrays Daniel’s experience of the heavenly revealer as more intense than

²⁷³ Lit. “your people” (עַמֶּךָ).

²⁷⁴ In Dan 12:1, those who will be delivered are found to be written in the book (כְּתוּב בַּסֵּפֶר).

Ezekiel's vision of the Glory of YHWH. For the author, Daniel's seeing the heavenly revealer precipitates a much greater hazard than Ezekiel's seeing the Glory of YHWH. Upon "seeing" the enthroned God, Ezekiel's awareness remains intact as he hears "a voice speaking" (קוֹל מְדַבֵּר, Ezek 1:28). Daniel's "seeing" of the heavenly figure, to the contrary, entails consumption of total "strength" in Daniel (Dan 10:8). Daniel's "hearing" the "voice of his words" (קוֹל דְּבָרָיו) surrenders Daniel unconscious so much so that it plunges Daniel into quasi-death (Dan 10:9). God compels Ezekiel to "be dumb" (אַלֵּם, Ezek 3:26). Ezekiel's suffering, albeit severe, is intended to serve God. Through Ezekiel's forced silence, God expresses God's rage against the apostates. Daniel is likewise struck dumbfounded, but the reason has nothing to do with Daniel's ministry. At his loss of speech, Ezekiel's suffering comes only from his tongue that God forcibly immobilizes. However, Daniel's dumbness (אַלֵּם, Dan 10:15) counts as only a tiny portion of his existential devastation by the petrifying words of the heavenly revealer. That Daniel is placed at much graver risk of facing the divine presence than Ezekiel becomes all the more accentuated by a series of healing touches that only gradually restore Daniel's health. More precisely, only through these multiple restorative cares of the heavenly figure does Daniel become step by step stronger than ever before (Dan 10:10, 16, 18). In Ezekiel, God's spirit imbued into the prophet makes Ezekiel stand on his "feet" (Ezek 2:2). A hand's curative touch, however, shows itself unable to relieve Daniel of the whole terror. After the first touch Daniel "trembles on his hands and knees," and "stood up trembling" (Dan 10:10-11). The figure "touches" Daniel's body twice more (Dan 10:16, 18).

Why does the author of Daniel 10 highlight such a formidable ordeal that Daniel undergoes in his vision of the heavenly figure? To deal with the question, we need to examine a pair of the keywords ("fear" and "strong/strengthen") in Daniel 10-11. The keywords in Daniel

10 function as a sign of allusion to Ezekiel 1-3.²⁷⁵ They show Daniel's difficult visionary experience to be the heavenly revealer's authenticating of Daniel as a human bearer of revelatory words.²⁷⁶ In Ezekiel's call narrative the divine Glory inculcates Ezekiel with the rebellious nature of the prophet's audience. Ezekiel is told that God sends him to the "hard-hearted" (חֲזִקֵּי-לֵב, Ezek 2:4). All of them have a "hard" forehead (חֲזִקֵּי-מִצְחָה, Ezek 3:7). God is deeply concerned that Ezekiel should be daunted either by the rebels or by their harsh words. Thus God repeats his command, "Do not fear" (לֹא/אַל-תִּירָא, Ezek 2:6; 3:9). Moreover, God fortifies Ezekiel against the defying renegades. Ezekiel's forehead is made as "hard" (חֲזָק) as their forehead (Ezek 3:8b), and even "harder than" (חֲזָק מִן) flint (Ezek 3:9). God makes also Ezekiel's face as "hard" as their faces (Ezek 3:8a).

On the way to the dwelling place of his audience, however, Ezekiel shows himself "bitter, deeply disturbed" (Ezek 3:14a).²⁷⁷ Among the Judean exiles in Tel Aviv the prophet sat "stunned" for a week (Ezek 3:15).²⁷⁸ During this time Ezekiel resists the call of God, feeling the irresistible pressure of God's strong (חֲזָקָה) hand (Ezek 3:14). Ezekiel's vacillation, albeit temporary, becomes surprising as it is recalled that Ezekiel has already ingested the scroll of God's words. In filling Ezekiel's stomach with the scroll, God cautions that Ezekiel should "not be rebellious like the rebellious Israel" (Ezek 2:8). To be sure, Ezekiel will soon turn staunchly loyal to his God and his prophetic task. It is nevertheless true that Ezekiel groans in bitter anguish even

²⁷⁵ Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 75, suggest a link between "excessive" use of חֲזָק in Dan 10:18-19 and Ezekiel's name יְחִזְקִאל, pointing out Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20*, 69, who mentions an interplay between Ezekiel's name and the use of חֲזָק in Ezekiel.

²⁷⁶ Anderson, *Signs and Wonders*, 119, 224.

²⁷⁷ Heb. מֵרַב בְּחִמָּת רֹחִי. See Block, *Ezekiel*, 136-137.

²⁷⁸ The portrayal of Ezekiel recalls that of Jeremiah: "I did not sit in the company of the merry-makers, nor did I rejoice; under the weight of your hand I sat alone, for you had filled me with indignation" (Jer 15:17).

before he begins to confront the rebels whom the Glory expects to threaten Ezekiel's loyalty. Completely left "in a wretched state—socially ostracized, physically exhausted, and emotionally disturbed," Ezekiel "struggles inwardly with Yahweh, with his calling, and with the message he is charged to proclaim."²⁷⁹

The keywords in the source text are elegantly reshaped in the target text in a way that emphasizes God's *stronger* control of God's messenger.²⁸⁰ Here the activation of the two texts makes the reader recognize an allusion on the level of a thematic motif that develops from one to the other.²⁸¹ Unlike Ezekiel who vacillates in his difficult calling even after his internalization of God's words in the scroll, Daniel willingly accepts his mission. Unlike Ezekiel's vision, Daniel's vision makes him completely ready for his commission. As I have argued in the previous section, the image of Ezekiel's audience is activated in Daniel's audience through the motif of two contrary groups. Except for some truly devotional Jews, they are in general rebellious, betraying the covenantal relationship with God. In Ezekiel 2-3 the keywords "hard/strong" characterize these Jewish rebels. In Daniel 10 the keywords do not characterize Daniel's rebellious audience. They are recast to portray Daniel, the strengthened messenger. That God's people act disobediently against the holy covenant is not so much important for the author of Daniel 10-12. What really matters in the end of time is that God's messenger is powerful enough to preserve the messenger's loyalty in opposition to the seducers and apostates. In Daniel 10, therefore,

²⁷⁹ Block, *Ezekiel*, 138.

²⁸⁰ For the use of keyword as sign, see Schultz, *Search for Quotation*, 226, where Schultz mentions Fishbane's discussion of Isaiah 10 and 28 (Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 489-491).

²⁸¹ Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Allusion," xxii, mentions "shifting from an allusion to a given text to an allusion involving a concept or a theme."

through his perilous, yet transformative, visionary experience Daniel is better prepared for his arduous duty than Ezekiel.

It is instructive to see that the Ezekielian keywords are converted to portray the process in which the heavenly revealer overwhelms, recovers, and empowers Daniel. Mimicking the Glory of YHWH in Ezekiel, the heavenly revealer commands Daniel: “Do not fear” (אַל-תִּירָא, Dan 10:12, 19). For Ezekiel, it is Ezekiel’s traitorous audience that he must not fear. What Daniel should not fear is, by contrast, not his audience but rather the heavenly figure. For the heavenly figure abides in inviolable presence that radiates enormously devastating terror. Interestingly, it is the same heavenly figure that reiteratively emboldens Daniel to overcome the terror. For the revealer and God who sends him to Daniel (Dan 10:11), it is crucial that Daniel should be strong enough to stand before the revealer and receive revelatory words for God’s people. Indeed, the heavenly figure is at pains to fortify Daniel for his special mission. Thus, after “strengthened” (וַיְחַזְּקֵנִי) Daniel, the heavenly revealer, as if seeing Daniel still unprepared, continuously exhorts Daniel to be “strong and be strong” (חֲזַק וַחֲזַק, Dan 10:18-19a). The result is fascinating. Previously, the figure’s words were “psychically and physically devastating,”²⁸² leaving no “strength”²⁸³ in Daniel (Dan 10:8, 16-17). Now, the very words of the revealer have become the source of Daniel’s new power. Thus Daniel confirms the invigorating power that Daniel has acquired through the words of the heavenly revealer: “When he spoke to me, I was strengthened” (בְּדַבְּרוֹ עָמִי הִתְחַזְּקֹתִי, Dan 10:19b). Successfully made capable of being faced with the dreadful heavenly interlocutor, Daniel joyously and respectfully requests, “Let my lord speak, for you have strengthened me (חֲזַקְתָּנִי, Dan 10:19c).

²⁸² Portier-Young, *Apocalypse against Empire*, 239.

²⁸³ Heb. בָּח.

This visionary experience in which the heavenly revealer reinforces Daniel is sealed with a subtle analogy between Daniel and Michael. It is persistently stressed that Daniel is unable to “talk with” the revealer (Dan 10:11, 15, 17). As Daniel “was strengthened” (הִתְחַזְקָה) enough to talk “with” (עִם) the revealer, Daniel is told: “There is no ‘one who remains faithful with me’ (מִתְחַזֵּק עִמִּי)²⁸⁴ against them except Michael your prince” (Dan 10:17, 21). Here, Michael, whom the heavenly revealer previously calls “one of the chief princes” in Dan 10:13, is further identified with “the one who remains faithful with the revealer” in Dan 10:21. This implies that Michael is under the control of the heavenly figure who may well hence be considered as “a heavenly military commander” (Dan 10:13).²⁸⁵ It follows that Michael is a loyal prince to this supreme leader who confronts the guardian princes of Persia and Greece (Dan 10:21). The commander figure tells Daniel that, in his battle with the princes of Persia and Greece, there is no other prince “except” Michael (Dan 10:21). The figure’s mention of lack of warriors that remain faithful with him seems to imply that the figure invites Daniel to join Michael in remaining with the figure. What does the heavenly commander expect Daniel to do? Like Michael *in heaven*, Daniel is urged to remain faithful with the figure *on earth*. More specifically, the figure and Michael battle against the angelic prince of Greece. Daniel and Daniel’s Jewish audience, to whom Daniel will give his knowledge of the divinely determined affairs of the end of time, battle

²⁸⁴ HALOT 1:304 construes “חֲזַק (hithpaal) with עִם” in Dan 10:21 as “to remain faithful with.” Particularly noteworthy is the analogy between the heavenly figure/Michael in Dan 10:13 and David/chiefs of David’s warriors in 1 Chron 11:10a: “Now these are chiefs of David’s warriors who remain faithful with him (הַמִּתְחַזְּקִים עִמּוֹ) in his kingdom.” David’s chief warriors remain faithful with their lord David. One can read likewise Daniel 10:21. The heavenly revealer’s chief warriors (i.e., princes such as Michael and Gabriel) remain faithful with their lord, the heavenly revealer. In this regard, this heavenly revealer may well be identified with “the Prince of host/princes” in Dan 8:11, 25. See Heiser, “The Divine Council in Late Canonical and Non-canonical Second Temple Jewish Literature,” 173.

²⁸⁵ Bampfylde, “The Prince of the Host,” 130. She also identifies the figure as “a supreme angelic being who is leader of the warrior angels” (p. 129).

against the northern king/Antiochus IV. Thus the heavenly commander foretells that “the people who know their God ‘will stand strong’ (יִחַזְקוּ) and take action” (Dan 11:32). To be sure, the action that the heavenly revealer anticipates Daniel and his faithful audience to take is not militarily violent resistance against the Seleucid tyrant. It is nonetheless true that they are invited to cooperate with the revealer’s heavenly forces by knowing God and resisting the foreign monarch on Judea. Analyzing the keyword “strong/strengthen” in Daniel 10 and 11, Portier-Young nicely captures the point: “Here and throughout the book of Daniel, when predicated of God’s faithful, language of strength refers not to physical prowess or warrior might, but rather to the power of knowledge and understanding derived from God as well as the capacity to receive and impart it.”²⁸⁶ To be an approved bearer, understander, and transmitter of God’s revelatory words concerning the end of time, Daniel undergoes his visionary experience of the most frightening heavenly revealer.

C. Maximum Activation of Allusion: The Liminal Figures in Daniel and the Motif of Transformation

In analyzing the allusion in Daniel 10, I have argued that the heavenly revealer holds a liminal status between the enthroned Glory of YHWH and the angelic throne-holders in Ezekiel 1. This function of allusion in the heavenly revealer in Daniel 10 harks back to the function of allusion in the son of man figure in Daniel 7.²⁸⁷ In Daniel 7 and 10 allusions are designed as a literary

²⁸⁶ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse against Empire*, 235-242 (here, p. 241).

²⁸⁷ Ulrich B. Müller, *Messias und Menschensohn in jüdischen Apokalypsen und in der Offenbarung des Johannes* (SNT 6; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1972), 26-29, sees the figure like a son of man in Dan 7:13-14 as an angelic being who is similar to other angelic beings found elsewhere in Daniel such as Dan 8:15; 9:21; 10:5, 18. Analogously, Lacocque, *Daniel*, 200, 211, views the figure in Daniel 10 as the son of man figure in Daniel 7. What is more significant in identifying the two figures in Daniel, however, is to clearly perceive that the author depicts them in such a way as to borrow *part* of the divine attributes of the Glory of YHWH in Ezekiel 1. The majestic figures in Daniel 7 and 10 are not God but a vice-regent of God.

device for characterizing an apocalyptic figure's ontologically bordering status. The allusion in Daniel 7 to Ezekiel 1 positions the status of the son of man figure between humankind and God. In the angel's interpretation, on one level, the figure represents the human Israel that suffers the persecution by Antiochus IV (Dan 7:17-27). On the other level, the son of man figure transcends human identity, while envisaged as a vice-regent that God ordains over the whole humankind in the end of time. The heavenly revealer in Daniel 10 is similarly portrayed in terms of rank. The revealer is shown to stand between cherubim and God. In conferring the particularized status on these two majestic figures in Daniel 7 and 10, the author appears to fashion intratextual allusions between both liminal figures. These two figures are in common controlled by the author to partake the attributes of the Glory in Ezek 1:26-28. Simultaneously, they are described as involved with non-divine elements. Thus the son of man figure in Daniel 7 represents the people of God, whereas the heavenly revealer in Daniel 10 absorbs the bodily features of the celestial four-beasts. However, there are remarkable differences between them. Unlike the son of man figure in Daniel 7, the heavenly revealer in Daniel 10 shares no human nature. Namely, although the son of man figure shows himself transformed from the human state (people of God) to the divine vice-regent, the heavenly revealer does not experience transformation. Instead, he is the one that transforms God's loyal human servant (Daniel). The heavenly figure surpasses other all angels such as Michael and Gabriel. This supremacy over angels is not clearly found in the son of man figure in Daniel 7.

More interestingly, both liminal figures may well anticipate the exalted *maskilim* in Daniel 12. I have discussed above how the son of man figure in Daniel 7 alludes to the *maskilim* in Daniel 11-12. As the *maskilim* and their Jewish followers resist the northern king/Antiochus IV in Daniel 11, they personify God's loyal people that the horn/Antiochus IV oppresses in

Daniel 7. Especially, the son of man figure as the glorified people of God in throne-theophany in Dan 7:13-14 foreshadows the resurrected *maskilim* that God will transform to glorious beings with eternal brilliance like the stars in heaven in Dan 12:3. In Daniel 10, the heavenly revealer's dazzling shape alludes to the cherubim's incandescent body in Ezekiel 1. This allusion provides a proleptic depiction of the *maskilim*'s splendid body that will resembles the "stars" in heaven in Dan 12:3. Moreover, the author's characterization of Daniel as the empowered visionary becomes a model for the *maskilim* as righteous teachers. From the larger perspective of the book, Daniel is introduced as one of "*maskilim*," a professional sage of the Babylonian empire (Dan 1:4). The knowledge in which Daniel is versed as a Babylonian sage concerns the Chaldeans "literature" and "language" (Dan 1:4). Daniel begins to embrace his identity as *maskilim* who know the eschatological future of God's people in Daniel 9. There Gabriel comes "to give Daniel insight" (לְהַשְׁכִּילָהּ), urging Daniel to "understand" (תִּשְׁכַּל) Gabriel's interpretation of Jeremiah's oracle concerning the period of Jerusalem's desolation (Dan 9:22, 25). In Daniel 10 Daniel continues his metamorphosis from a wise imperial official to a God-instructed wise. Daniel seeks to "understand" before his God and is taught to "understand" the heavenly emissary's message (Dan 10:11-12). This Daniel is representative of the *maskilim* that both "impart" their understanding to God's people and "fall" for the sake of their purification (Dan 11:33, 35). In particular, Daniel's encounters with the heavenly revealer occasion Daniel's radical bodily reinforcement. Daniel's body changes from the wretched state of disfigurement to the empowered state, entirely immune to the revealer's destructive brilliance and voice (Dan 10:8, 19). The image of Daniel's transformation is continued in the *maskilim* in Daniel 11-12, where their painful bodily deformation is epitomized when they are executed by Antiochus IV's torturing instruments: "sword" and "fire" (Dan 11:33). Likewise, Daniel's invigoration by the

heavenly figure forecasts the *maskilim*'s conquest of human mortality through resurrection and transformation into immortal body.

Indeed, the motif of transformation plays a central role in the book of Daniel. The element of disfigurement in Daniel 10 can be compared to other major figures in the first half of the book. When Daniel sees the great vision of the heavenly figure, Daniel is immediately reduced to the inanimate state. Daniel is irresistibly subdued by the blast of the tremendous force that radiates from the heavenly revealer. Daniel's splendor is turned to "what destroys" (מַשְׁחִית, Dan 10:8). Exposed to the appearance of this figure, Daniel's pleasant looking body is instantly deformed. Daniel's resistless body in Daniel 10 stands in stark contrast with the three Jewish youths' impermeable bodies in Daniel 3. Nebuchadnezzar hurls them into the fiery furnace. In dream the monarch sees a certain heavenly being whose appearance "resembles a son of gods" (Dan 3:25). In the furnace, heated up seven times more than usual, the one like a son of gods probably radiates more than the blazing fire (Dan 3:19). This heavenly figure is more powerful than fire and, no doubt, than the four youths. The narrator tells that the devout Jews encounter the figure in the midst of fire "without harm" (Dan 3:25). They do not suffer either from fire or, perhaps more significantly, from the mysterious powerful being. Quite to the contrary, the son of gods figure strengthens the youths, so that "fire had no effect on the bodies" of them (Dan 3:27). Even their tunics "did not change" (Dan 3:19). Evoking the one like a son of gods who reinforces the three pious Jews in the fiery furnace, the heavenly revealer announces that the *maskilim* will fall by "fire" but will "wake to the eternal life" (Dan 11:33; 12:2).

Daniel's loss of his bodily comeliness evokes Nebuchadnezzar's bestial transfiguration of body in Dan 4:33 (Engl. 36). Clearly, the reason for Daniel's deformity and recovery differ entirely from that for Nebuchadnezzar's. Daniel's experience is entirely due to his direct contact

with the heavenly being. By contrast, the monarch's bizarre experience results from God's punishment of the monarch's ignorance of God's authorship of dominion (Dan 4:14, 29 [Engl. 17, 32]). Despite the essential disparity between Daniel's and Nebuchadnezzar's experience, they show some similarities. Both mention "my glory" ("הַדָּרִי" Dan 4:33 [Engl. 36]; "הַדָּרִי" Dan 10:8). Like Daniel, after recovery Nebuchadnezzar is reinforced. The "surpassing greatness was added" to the monarch (Dan 4:33 [Engl. 36]). For Daniel, the difficult visionary experience is unavoidable to acquire the knowledge of "what will happen" to God's people in the end of time (Dan 10:14). Likewise, Nebuchadnezzar's transfiguration is inextricably involved with the need for his learning the knowledge of God's sovereignty (Dan 4:14, 22, 29 [Engl. 17, 25, 32]).

Special attention needs to be paid to the fact that the author of Daniel 10 highlights the astonishing impact of the heavenly revealer's appearance on Daniel's body (Dan 10:8-10; 15-17). The author designs the heavenly revealer's gleaming corporeality in Dan 10:6 to foreshadow the eternally luminous body of the *maskilim* in Dan 12:3—the immortal body expressed in the light imagery that are shared between the heavenly figure and the *maskilim*. The terrifying presence of the heavenly figure appears to occupy quite a unique place in the Hebrew Bible. Nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible, except here in Daniel 10:8, are we not informed of a human being's instant physical deformation in context of theophany or angelophany.²⁸⁸ Intriguingly, the dreadful force

²⁸⁸ The Danielic idea of the seer's *disfigurement* appears to be taken up in *Second Baruch* that uses the idea of disfigurement in Daniel 10 by activating it in context of resurrection of *Second Baruch* 48-51. For the use of Daniel in *Second Baruch*, see Kim, "Wisdom and Apocalypse in 2 Baruch," 260-271. In Daniel 10 Daniel is repeatedly associated with his understanding of the eschatological message of the heavenly revealer (Dan 10:1, 11, 12, 14). Likewise, the *maskilim* in Daniel 11-12 are depicted as having and using the God-given understanding of God's secret plan for God's people at the end of days. Daniel is compelled to be disfigured as he "saw" the "great vision" only to be stronger than before (Dan 10:8). In depicting resurrection, the author of *Second Baruch* evokes Daniel and the *maskilim*. Like the *maskilim* in Daniel 12, the righteous sages, whose expectation is "intelligence" and whose faith is "wisdom," are gracefully turned into "splendor of angels" (2 Bar. 51:7). The wicked sages, who do not hear "wisdom" or receive "intelligence" but rejects God's "Torah," are hideously deformed into "startling apparitions and ghostly contours" (2 Bar. 51:4, 5). The grotesque distortion of the depraved sages is a direct consequence of eschatological reversal of fortunes: "when they will *see* those over whom they now

of the figure's dazzling body is transformative. Daniel, exposed to the figure's devastating power, is compelled not only to be disfigured by the figure but also to be strengthened more than ever, by the same figure.

exalted themselves, and (see) that they will be exalted and glorified than them" (2 Bar. 51:5). This means that the deformation will not begin until the wicked group will *see* the righteous group's glorification, namely, their brilliant and strengthened immortal body (2 Bar. 51:5). This point emphasizes that the wicked sages' eternal shame will be all the more painful by their perception of the radical reversal of fortunes. On this reversal, see Lied, "Recognizing and Righteous Remnant," 321-323; and, Henze, *Jewish Apocalypticism*, 325-327. In Daniel 10 the disfigurement of Daniel represents an unavoidable but transitory experience in which God-chosen one receives God's revelation of the *eschaton*. For the wicked sages in *Second Baruch*, their appalling malformation is inevitable, too. However, their spoiled shape will stay forever, for it is only prelude to their eternal punishment: "They will waste away entirely ... they go away to be tormented" (2 Bar 51:5-6). After being transformed into "splendor of angels," by contrast, the righteous group will "see" a world that is previously invisible in this world but now made visible to their group only (2 Bar. 51:8).

Chapter Five: Conclusion

Daniel is saturated with literary allusions. I have examined the use of literary allusions in Daniel to earlier written texts in the Hebrew Bible. I have focused on how to identify their presence in the fabric of Daniel and how to interpret them in light of the overall structure of Daniel. Allusion works not only as a text-unifying device in Daniel but also, more fascinatingly, as an inter-literary text-linking device between Daniel and other scriptural documents.

Allusion in Daniel tends to repeatedly evoke an early text in keeping with the stream of narrative in Daniel. This is characteristically observed by allusions in Daniel to Genesis. The opening verses of Daniel initiate a series of allusions in Daniel to the primeval Babel in Genesis 10-11, constituting a prelude to the sustained interplay between Genesis 10-11 and the unfolding narrative blocks in Daniel 1-4. Once the reader recognizes the signs of allusion such as “Babylon” and “the land of Shinar” (Dan 1:1-2), the whole story of Babel in Genesis 11 functions as the implied background of the Babylonian destruction of the Jerusalem temple in Daniel 1. The evoked story of Babel of old in Genesis 11:1-9 makes the reader of Daniel further recognize the parallels between Nimrod, the founder of Babel, and his heir, King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylonian Empire. The verbal web of connections among the main and supplemental signs of allusions triggers elegant thematic interactions between Genesis 10-11 and Daniel 1-2 such as the universal language in Babel, its transformation in Babylon, and the divine victory over the successor of Nimrod.

The presence of allusion to the Genesis Babel story in Daniel becomes more prominent in Daniel 3. The conflict between the emperors of Babel and the divine Sovereign in heaven is dramatically embodied in the clash between Daniel’s three comrades and Nebuchadnezzar. The

recurring collocation, “nations, clans, and languages,” in Daniel 3, where Nebuchadnezzar sets up a golden statue to consolidate the unity of his imperial subjects, alludes to Genesis 10, where the primeval population in Babel constructs a lofty tower and is scattered according to their different languages, clans, and nations. This allusion activates the theologoumena of imperialism in Genesis 10-11 that control the reader’s understanding of Nebuchadnezzar’s political ambition for supreme power and its subsequent doom as forecast by the story of Babel of old. It is fascinating to see that the allusion in Daniel 3 to the imperialism of Nimrod’s Babel in Genesis functions as a political satire when Nebuchadnezzar’s imperial cult of the golden statue paints the Babylonian empire as built on vile menace, absolute terror, and drab monotony.

Allusion to Genesis 11 recurs in Daniel 4, while emphasizing all the more the divine triumph over human imperialism. Once more the reader enters a broader referential horizon on which Daniel is entwined with Genesis in such a way as to enrich the theologoumena of the divine ownership of dominion. A series of common textual elements between Genesis 11 and Daniel 4 demonstrate the shared plot as the main sign of allusion. The allusion at work between the statue of Nebuchadnezzar and the tower of primeval humankind presages God’s impending judgment of the monarch, who is envisaged as a giant tree in the middle of the world. In particular, the allusion to Genesis in Daniel 4 serves to highlight the ideology of rule in Daniel 4. Only insofar as the human ruler acknowledges the divine ownership of dominion can the ruler continue to prosper. The allusion to Genesis reveals Nebuchadnezzar’s bizarre, bestial transfiguration as another case of the Danielic criticism of imperialism. According to Genesis, the dominion that the divine creator entrusts to Adam was intended to preserve only the *nonhuman* creatures (Gen 1:26-27). Unlike Adam, however, Nebuchadnezzar illegitimately wields the scepter over other human beings.

My thesis that allusion in Daniel functions as a device for activating repeatedly the same source text is affirmed in my analysis of allusions in Daniel to Ezekiel. The stories in the first half of Daniel allude to Genesis 10-11 in a way that activates the Genesis accounts of Babel as well as transfers their larger contexts to the fabric of Daniel. Likewise, the apocalypses in the second half of Daniel contain literary allusions repeatedly evocative of Ezekiel's prophetic call narrative and his special ministry in Ezekiel 1-3. Through this *modus operandi*, allusion in Daniel functions to unify the texts in Daniel.

In investigating allusion in Daniel 7 to Ezekiel 1-3, I lay emphasis on the continuity between Daniel's and Ezekiel's visionary encounters with the anthropomorphic manifestation of God. Remarkable is the lexical and ideological commonalities between the two visions. The contextual transference through allusion activates the Ezekielian image of God as the cosmic sovereign in Daniel's nocturnal vision of the enthroned God. Likewise, allusion draws a stark contrast between the chariot-bearers' volunteering *obedience* to the Glory of YHWH and the monstrous beasts' forced *submission* to the Ancient One. I have demonstrated how the allusion to Ezekiel reinforces the angel's interpretation of the figure as Israel in Daniel 7. The double depiction of Israel both as the "figure" in glory and as the "people" in suffering in Daniel may be best interpreted as the ontological transformation of God's true people from a human being to an angelic being. Installed as the divine intermediary, the figure ranks between the Ancient One and all of humankind. To make this point, the author of Daniel 7 crafts the allusion in a way in which the figure in the throne-hall is not identical with the enthroned Glory but *partakes* some divine attributes of the Glory. Namely, the figure like a son of man is liminal in terms of its two identities. It represents the true people of God in Daniel and simultaneously shares attributes of

the Glory of YHWH in Ezekiel. This allusion characterizes the son of man figure as a liminal figure.

Particularly interesting is that allusion aligns the historical situation of the Jewish deportees in late six century B.C.E. Babylon with that of the Jewish returnees in second century B.C.E. Palestine. The allusion links Ezekiel's audience to the *maskilim*'s audience. To firmly endorse the divine vindication of the martyrs for covenant with God in Daniel, the author eschatologizes the idea of life and death in the evoked text in Ezekiel. Another continuity that allusion provides between Ezekiel's and the *maskilim*'s ministries is especially noteworthy. The depiction of the *maskilim* as teacher in the end of time appropriates the depiction of Ezekiel as sentinel.

The allusion in Daniel 10 to Ezekiel 1-3 highlights Daniel's unique experience of seeing the unnamed heavenly being in terms of Ezekiel's call vision. Again, the author of Daniel repeats one source text in a way that makes a different point. The allusive force is integrated, while yielding a more profound interplay between the evoked text and the alluding text. I pointed out three different periphrases of the heavenly figure: "one man" (אִישׁ-אָחָד), "one who resembles a son of man" (כְּדִמוּת בֶּן־אָדָם), and "one with human form" (כְּמִרְאָה אָדָם) (Dan 10:5, 16, 18). All of these references allude to the Glory of YHWH in Ezekiel. More interestingly, the heavenly revealer alludes to the four throne-carriers in Ezekiel 1. As with the son of man figure, this double allusion functions to identify the figure as liminal. This function of allusion in Daniel is deeply related to the theme of transformation in Daniel. I have maintained that, together with the figure like the son of man in Daniel 7, the anthropomorphic figure in Daniel 10 functions to forecast the eschatological transformation of the *maskilim* in Daniel 12. Ezekiel and Daniel commonly stress how hard it is to become God's messenger through visionary experience of the

dreadful divine. To explain why the author of Daniel 10 highlights a formidable ordeal that Daniel undergoes in his vision of the heavenly figure, I have analyzed a pair of keywords (fear” and “strong/strengthen”) in Daniel 10-11. Here allusion operates through keywords in Daniel 10 that are a sign of allusion to Ezekiel 1-3. Once recognized as a sign, keywords activate in Daniel 10 the exuberant implication that revolves around keywords in the context of Ezekiel’s call narrative. For the author of Daniel 10-12, the disobedience of God’s people to the holy covenant is not so important; what does matter in the end of time is God’s messenger himself. The messenger should be powerful enough to remain loyal in opposition to the seducers and apostates. In Daniel 10, Daniel is depicted as prepared for his arduous duty better than Ezekiel through Daniel’s perilous, transformative visionary experience. Daniel’s motifs of two different groups and eschatological transformation are continued in *Second Baruch*. Daniel’s impressive encounter with the heavenly revealer motivates the Baruchian idea of transformation of the righteous sages who will surpass angels.

I would like to conclude my summary with two cases of homonym that function as an attractive sign of allusion. Special attention needs to be paid to the author’s mastery of crafting literary allusion that is demonstrated by a correspondence between homonyms: 1) the Aramaic marker *ʾîr* (עִיר “watcher”; Dan 4:10, 14, 20) and the Hebrew marked *ʾîr* (עִיר “city”; Gen 11:5, 7), and 2) the marker *zhr/zōhar* (זָהַר/זֹהַר “shine/shining”; Dan 12:3) and *zhr* (זָהַר “warn”; Ezek 3:17-21). These two cases of allusion rely not only on wordplay through homonym but also on their extreme infrequency in the Hebrew Bible. The holy “watcher” from heaven, as if reacting to the upward movement of the “city,” comes down to the towering tree, that is, the king of Babel (Gen 11:4; Dan 4:10, 20). In terms of style, the allusive connection between the Aramaic and Hebrew homonyms appears to forecast a similar, midrashic exegesis of Psalm 1. Following

the author of Daniel 4, the ancient sages interpret Abraham's piety by forging a graceful analogy between "a watcher" (עֵיר) that the architects make in Gen 11:4 and the "watcher" (עֵיר) that Nebuchadnezzar beholds in Dan 4:10.¹ Another homonym play links the *maskilim* in Daniel 12 and the prophet Ezekiel in Ezekiel 3. Here the marker is extremely rare words and the marked is a cognate of the marker as well as a keyword in the evoked text. As the context transfer occurs, the allusion sets the *maskilim* and his glorification in the context of Ezekiel's ministry and its reward.

¹ Henze, "The Use of Scripture in the Book of Daniel," 303-304, rightly states that "[Daniel's] exegetical practice anticipates similar ways of reading the Bible in post-biblical Jewish literature."

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